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AUTHOR Brown, Brett V.
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ABSTRACT

This study combined a social capital-oriented status attainment approach, a life course perspective, and a risk approach that features analysis of subgroups at particularly high risk, to examine the determinants of adult achievement among at-risk males. Achievement was operationalized as socioeconomic attainment and included outcomes related to educational, income, and occupational achievement. Outcomes were measured at or around age 29, with selected analyses repeated at age 35 for comparison purposes. Data were obtained from the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience--Young Men cohort. Findings indicated that African-American men growing up in the 1960s were more likely than whites to have at-risk and multi-risk backgrounds. At-risk youth had less access to social capital than not at-risk youth. At-risk African-American males had access to parental and teacher encouragement equal to those not at-risk, and more parental encouragement than white at-risk males. At-risk youth had substantially lower levels of socioeconomic attainment as adults, although a large proportion were successful. At-risk youth had rates of unstable employment and early marriage similar to those not at-risk but were more likely to experience delayed high school graduation. The low income measure and the additive risk scale were most consistently associated with lower adult attainment. Consistently strong relationships were found between three social capital measures and adult attainment. Early life course mis-steps were strongly related to adult achievement for white males, but only unstable employment was related to lower adult attainment for African-Americans. (Contains 52 tables of data and a 51-item bibliography.) (KB)

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ANALYSIS OF YOUNG MEN: CHAPTER ONE

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS RELATING RISK, SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND EARLY LIFE COURSE OUTCOMES TO ADULT SOCIOECONOMIC ATTAINMENT AMONG AT-RISK MALE YOUTH

by

Brett V. Brown, Ph.D.

Child Trends, Inc.
4301 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 100
Washington, D.C. 20008

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INTRODUCTION

The impetus for this research effort grew from the observation that research on at-risk youth has generally focused on failure, and the personal and family background characteristics associated with failure. These include research in the areas of high school dropout (Eckstrom et al. 1986), unemployment (Powers 1992, Freeman and Holzer 1986, Anderson 1978, Liebow 1967), poverty (Moore et al. 1993, Wilson 1987, McLanahan 1985, Stack 1974, Moynihan 1965), out-of-wedlock fatherhood (Lamb and Elster 1986) and criminal activity (Sampson 1987, J.Q. Wilson 1975).

Such research is extremely useful and worthwhile, but suffers two significant limitations. First, by failing to study positive achievement and its determinants, it limits our understanding of the processes affecting attainment among at-risk youth (Dunst and Trivette 1992). This in turn limits the potential intervention strategies which might be adopted to improve outcomes for such youth. Second, research on at-risk youth rarely follows the youth into full adulthood, that is, into the late twenties and beyond. Several analyses have demonstrated that the effects of origin family background characteristics on important outcomes related to adult well-being can change significantly between early and later adulthood (Brooks-Gunn et al. forthcoming, Moore et al. 1986).

In the analyses that follow we combine three theoretical approaches -- Coleman's social capital-oriented status attainment approach, a life course perspective, and a risk approach that features analysis of subgroups at particularly high risk -- to examine the determinants of adult achievement among at-risk youth. Achievement is operationalized as socioeconomic attainment, and includes outcomes related to educational, income, and occupational achievement. Outcomes are measured at or around age 29, with selected analyses repeated at age 35 for comparison purposes.

CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

Our theoretical starting point is the socioeconomic attainment model developed by James Coleman, which includes the powerful notion of *social capital* (Coleman, 1988). Social capital taps

what is potentially a very important social dimension not well captured in previous models of adult attainment (e.g. Becker 1981, Sewell and Hauser 1975). It is also a very empowering notion in that it identifies strengths which disadvantaged families can develop and use in order to improve the long term prospects of their children. This perspective is reviewed in detail below.

A life course approach is incorporated into this model by including in the analyses events during the transition to adulthood that are expected to directly affect adult socioeconomic attainment. By doing so we shed light on the possible causal chain or *pathway* of life course events linking early background factors to achievement in later adulthood. Finally, we take a "risk" perspective by modeling many background factors as discrete groups of at-risk and not at-risk youth, thus highlighting the consequences of coming from especially disadvantaged groups. Such a perspective is particularly useful to those interested in early intervention strategies to improve adult outcomes for young members of more disadvantaged social groups.

RELEVANT LITERATURE

Social Capital/Status Attainment Approach

Coleman (1988) has identified two research traditions within the socioeconomic attainment literature. The first is an economics tradition represented by the work of Gary Becker (1964, 1981). The second is a sociological tradition represented in the work of Blau and Duncan (1967), Featherman and Hauser (1978) and Sewell and Hauser (1975). Coleman himself draws from both traditions in an attempt to develop a new model of attainment based on the concept of social capital.

The economics tradition concentrates on parental investment strategies where parents mobilize their financial and human capital resources to invest in the development of the human capital resources of their children. Investment decisions are based on the rational long term self-interest of parents; their decisions are constrained by the environment, but are not shaped by it. Coleman critiques this tradition for ignoring the mechanisms through which social norms are produced and legitimized, and the importance of social networks and social organization. All play important roles in shaping and facilitating human actions which lead to the acquisition of capital

(financial and human), and thus to socioeconomic attainment.

The sociological tradition emphasizes the role of social processes taking place within the family, peer groups, community and the wider society in the determination of a youth's adult socioeconomic attainment. Thus, for example, the Wisconsin social-psychological model of achievement includes measures of peer orientations, and parent and teacher encouragement to seek a college education as determinants of educational and occupational attainment, and earnings. It emphasizes the role of these influences and of the individual's psychological characteristics (e.g. expectations, aspirations, aptitude) as paths mediating the relationship between family background characteristics and adult achievement (Sewell and Hauser 1975, Alexander, Eckland and Griffin 1975). In this approach, actors are shaped by the characteristics of their environment (e.g. family, community) but, unlike the rational action orientation of the economists' model, no internal mechanism or orientation is posited through which the individual actor interacts with the environment.

Coleman proposes that a superior theoretical model of attainment can be produced by importing sociological notions related to social context into the economists' capital-based paradigm of rational action. To do so he defines a new type of capital, "social capital." Social capital is a property of social structures, of relations between and among people (Coleman 1988). The family and the community are the basic social structures within which social capital exists and is transmitted.

Coleman offers a number of concrete examples of social capital of importance for the development of children. Within the family, social capital would include time spent between parent and child, parental expectations for the child (educational, behavioral), and the values and norms operating within the family.

Within the community, social capital of relevance to children would include the quality of the relationships which exist among parents in the community, and parents' and children's relations to community institutions (e.g. schools, religious institutions, civic organizations). Strong relations of this sort can reinforce and support the work of parents in instilling desired norms and goals in their children, and in helping their children to acquire the human capital which will help them in

making a successful transition to adulthood.

There are other research traditions (not mentioned by Coleman) that have dealt in some depth with social capital factors (though they do not use this term) and their relation to the development and well-being of children and youth. There is a psychological tradition of child development research represented in such work as Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of child development (Bronfenbrenner 1979), literatures on resilient youth which are largely grounded in a medical research tradition (Luthar and Ziegler 1991, Garmezy 1985), and a family therapy tradition which identifies both strong and dysfunctional family processes (Stinnett and Defrain, 1985, Olson, McCubbin, Barnes, Larsen, Muxen and Wilson, 1990). These literatures provide excellent sources of potential measures needed to flesh out Coleman's somewhat under-specified notion of social capital. They are not covered in more detail here only because data limitations do not allow us to draw on them for our analyses.

The Risk Approach

The social science notion of *risk* has reached its fullest development within the epidemiological and child development literatures. Here, emphasis is put on the identification of biological, genetic, and psychosocial background factors that put an individual at greater risk of experiencing particular medical conditions or development deficits (for a review, see Garmezy, 1985, and the paper on resilient youth in this report). In addition to risk factors, analysts seek to identify *protective* factors which can protect those at-risk from experiencing particular negative outcomes.

The at-risk label has been adopted by researchers and policy makers and applied to a wide variety of social ills that affect both children and adults. It is a useful framework for anyone interested in early identification of populations most likely to experience a particular problem or set of problems, and for identifying protective factors whose development can be encouraged through early intervention. In the theoretical framework adopted for our analyses, social capital is analogous to protective factors under the risk framework. Family financial and human capital and demographic characteristics are treated as risk factors, and are coded to identify discrete risk groups.

The Transition to Adulthood Approach

The life course research tradition looks at the life course as a succession of developmental phases connected by periods of transition. The approach is common in the field of child development (Rutter, 1988), and has been used to identify and study major periods of transition throughout life including the transition to adulthood and transitions into old age (Sorensen 1987).

Within the transition to adulthood literature, much attention is focused on the identification of important events associated with a more or less successful transition, and on the potential impacts which the ordering and timing of these events may have on adult well-being (see, for example, Rindfuss, Swicegood and Rosenfeld, 1987, and Mare, Winship and Kubitschek, 1984). Such periods of transition are pathways leading from youth to adulthood, linking them both temporally and causally. This approach has been usefully incorporated into socioeconomic attainment models whose focus is the linking of the characteristics of childhood and youth to achievement in adulthood (Moore et al. 1993, Ellwood 1982, Corcoran 1982, Hofferth and Moore 1979). This approach is adopted for the present research effort, with emphasis on the ways in which particular events in the transition period (e.g. unstable employment, military service) may causally link risk and social capital factors to adult socioeconomic attainment.

PROJECT ANALYSIS PLAN

The analysis plan calls for systematic descriptive and multivariate analyses to explore the determinants and pathways of achievement among at-risk male youth. Analyses are in all cases performed separately for white and African-American males. Results of the descriptive analyses are presented in this chapter, and multivariate results are presented in Chapter Two. Detailed descriptions of the questions addressed and methodologies adopted for each type of analysis are offered preceding the analysis results in each chapter. Here a brief overview of the two efforts is offered.

The descriptive analyses have two goals. The first goal is to construct a sort of social map which indicates <u>who</u> in this cohort of young men were at-risk, who had access to social capital, who

experienced important early positive and negative life-course outcomes, and who achieved as adults, with special attention to variations by risk status. The second goal is to evaluate the extent to which each particular measure functions as an expression of the construct that it operationalizes. In other words, how risky is each risk factor, how beneficial each social capital factor, how costly each negative early outcome (which have been labeled mis-steps)? This will be explored by examining the bivariate relationships between each of these variables and the seven measures of adult socioeconomic attainment (discussed below).

Though the majority of the analyses refer to outcomes at or around age 29, selected analyses are repeated for outcomes measured at or around age 35 to see whether the relation of risk and social capital factors to adult attainment attenuates, strengthens, or stays the same at later ages.

In the multivariate analyses a series of nested regression models is estimated to address the following theoretically important questions.

- What is the relative importance of risk versus social capital factors?
- Do the effects associated with being at-risk compound for those with multi-risk backgrounds?
- What are the social-psychological and life course pathways through which risk and social capital factors affect adult socioeconomic attainment?
- Can social capital help those who have experienced mis-steps in early adulthood to overcome them?
- How do these relationships differ for those who are at-risk and those who are not?

The multivariate analyses (featured in Chapter Two) focus on three classic measures of attainment in status attainment research: educational attainment, occupational status, and yearly earnings. Multivariate analyses are limited to outcomes measured at or around age 29. Unfortunately, similar analyses could not be carried out for attainment at age 35 because many of

the essential variables in these models were simply not available for those in the survey who could be followed through to that age.

DATA DESCRIPTION

The data set used in these analyses is the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience-Young Men cohort (NLSYM). It is part of a larger study begun in the mid-1960s by the U.S. Department of Labor to look at the labor market experiences of four population cohorts: men 45 to 59 years old; women 30 to 44 years old; and young men and young women 14 to 24 years old. The primary purpose of these surveys was to gather information on labor market experiences (e.g. labor force and employment status, work history, characteristics of jobs) and on individual, household, and community characteristics that may have an impact on labor market outcomes.

The original sample was designed to represent the civilian non-institutionalized population of 14 to 24 year old men in the United States at the time of the initial survey (NLS Users Guide 1993, p. 17). Blacks were sampled at twice their expected rate in the population so that reliable data could be generated for black youth. A total of 5,225 men were included in the initial survey in 1966.

The NLSYM followed these young men from 1966 through 1981. Surveys were performed annually until 1971. After 1971, monetary constraints forced a more irregular interview schedule; surveys took place in 1973, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1980, and 1981. In some years interviews were carried out by telephone rather than in person.

Strengths: The NLSYM has a number of significant strengths and limitations with regard to the analyses undertaken below. Its major strengths are its longitudinal design, and the substantial age span which it covers. When our research began in 1991, this was the only longitudinal data set which allowed one to follow male youth from their early teens into their late twenties and early thirties. The NLSY, a more recent cohort of the NLS survey effort, is in many other respects superior to the NLSYM for these analyses, but would only have allowed us to follow respondents through their twenties and the youngest only through age 23. It was determined that the lives of such

young adults are too tumultuous and changing to get accurate and stable measures of adult achievement.

The longitudinal design of the NLSYM is critical because it allows one to examine elements of the pathway taken by at-risk youth as they proceed into adulthood. In doing so one can study how these steps on the pathways (both positive steps and mis-steps) mediate the effects of risk and social capital factors on adult achievement.

Limitations: The NLSYM also has a number of significant limitations. First, the information is dated, referring to the experiences of young men who grew up during the mid-to-late 1960s. This is a largely unavoidable problem for anyone interested in looking at adult achievement. Nevertheless it is a problem insofar as one is interested in applying the results of the analyses to the challenges facing contemporary American youth.

American family life and the American labor market have undergone dramatic changes since the 1960s. As a result, levels of exposure to both risk and social capital factors, and the impact of those factors on adult achievement, may have changed with them. Exposure to some risk factors, such as number of parents in the household and parental educational attainment, have clearly changed since the 1960s, with large increases in single parent households, and improvements in the mean education level of adults (Hernandez 1993).

One should not make too much of this limitation, however. It is likely that the basic relationships uncovered in the analyses hold true for contemporary cohorts as well, although the magnitude of the effects and levels of exposure to various factors may have changed. For example, analyses using data from both the NLSYM and the more recent NLSY on the consequences of early childbearing show similar patterns of effects where comparable variables were examined (Moore et al. 1993).

More positively, this work using the NLSYM lays a solid foundation for comparative analyses using the more recent NLSY. Such a comparison would offer valuable information as to how the determinants of adult socioeconomic attainment have changed as a result of changes in the American

family and economy.

Second, this data set contains a limited set of available social capital measures. A thorough search of the data produced only four clear social capital measures. Three are related to education and intellectual development, and a fourth to residential stability. While these measures represent important dimensions of social capital, they cover only a small proportion of the full range of social capital influences that may be affecting adult achievement among at-risk youth. In addition, because most of the social capital measures are related to educational attainment, they may be less predictive of other measures of adult achievement.

As a result, our analyses of the NLSYM should be seen as an exploration of the possibilities inherent in the social capital concept, rather than a thorough testing of the concept itself. Subsequent research in this area can and should take advantage of the expanded list of social capital measures that are present in more recent surveys such as the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth and the National Survey of Families and Households.

Third, the time period covered by the NLSYM includes the height of the Viet Nam war, a time when an unusually high percentage of young men were drafted into the armed forces. Over one third of the entire (weighted) sample of young men who were ages 14-17 when the survey began had spent some time in military service by the time they were age 26. The draft represents something of an unnatural addition to the pathway from youth to adulthood for many of these young men. As a result, the observed relationships between the characteristics of one's family of origin (e.g. risk and social capital factors) and adult achievement may be somewhat affected.

Fourth, the lack of data for years in which the survey was not conducted (1972, 1974, 1977 and 1979) creates difficulties in constructing variables related to specific ages, and makes the accurate timing and sequencing of many events impossible. This limitation in fact prevented us from pursuing event history analyses for the young men's sample.

Finally, the NLS-M had a fairly high rate of sample attrition between 1966 and 1981, the last year in which interviews were held. Rates of retention were 64 percent overall, 69 percent for white respondents and 54 percent for black respondents (NLS Users Guide, 1993, pp. 21 and 39). The

decision to discontinue the survey was based in large part on the substantial attrition (NLS Users Guide, 1993, p. 40). Analyses by Rhoton and Nagi (1991) indicate that this attrition was not random, with those from low income families somewhat more likely to leave the sample. In the descriptive analyses that follow corrections are made for this using the population weights provided for each year of the survey, which attempt to correct for the effects of attrition in addition to making other adjustments.

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

Most of the analyses that follow use a sample of males who were between ages 14 and 17 and living with a parent (or as a dependent of a relative) at the time of the first survey (1966). This produced an initial sample of 1534 white and 711 African-American males. Sample sizes for analyses involving variables measured in the later years of the survey are considerably smaller due to the high rates of sample attrition discussed above. Use of this sample has limited the analyses primarily to socioeconomic measures taken at or around age 29. Selected descriptive analyses were repeated on an older sample (ages 19-24) so that achievement outcomes at age 35 could also be analyzed, and the results compared to analyses involving the age 29 measures.

The bulk of our analyses were limited to the younger age group for two reasons. First, important risk and early life course measures were not available for the older cohort either because they had left their family of origin by the time of the initial survey, or because necessary age-specific data were not available for years preceding the initial survey. Second, those who were serving in the military at the time of the initial survey (which would affect those ages 18 and older) were excluded from the survey sample. Because such a large proportion of young men did serve in the military due to the draft, this exclusion would have produced significant biases in the resulting sample.

VARIABLE DESCRIPTIONS

There are four classes of variables which are used in these analyses: measures of risk, social capital, intermediate life course outcomes, and adult socioeconomic achievement. Each is briefly

describe in turn below.

Risk Measures

The risk measures are based on demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the family of origin common to many models of status attainment (see, for example, Featherman and Hauser 1978, Sewell and Hauser 1975). These characteristics include family structure, number of siblings, parental education and occupational status, family poverty level, and place of residence. All of these measures are coded as dichotomies of at-risk and not at-risk in order to highlight the consequences associated with membership in discrete risk groups. Analyses were also performed for those from single parent families whose parent lacked a high school education. In addition, a simple additive scale of risk was constructed in order to investigate effects associated with coming from a multi-risk family. Below is a list of risk measures used in the analyses, along with detailed definitions of each.

<u>family structure.</u>
at-risk = living in a household with fewer than two parents at age 14.

<u>number of siblings.</u>
at-risk = having four or more siblings in 1966, when respondents were ages 14-17.

<u>parental educational attainment.</u>
at-risk = having no parent with a high school degree.

<u>occupational prestige of household head.</u>
at-risk = living in a household at age 14 whose head had a Duncan SEI occupational status score in the bottom quartile (quartiles based on entire weighted sample), when respondent was age 14.[1]

<u>family poverty.</u>
at-risk = family of origin below 150 percent of the poverty line in 1966, when respondents were ages 14-17.

<u>place of residence.</u>
at-risk = residence in a central city in 1966 (at ages 14-17).

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[1]The Duncan SEI score of occupational status is an ordered ranking of occupations constructed from census data, based on the average income and education level of members of each census occupational category.

single-parent/low educated.

at-risk = coming from a single parent family where the parent had less than a high school education.

risk scale.

This is a simple additive measure of the five family-based single-item measures of risk. The central city residence variable was excluded when preliminary analyses revealed that it had a neutral of positive association with measures of adult achievement.

Social Capital Measures

Four measures of social capital are considered in these analyses. Two are measures of the amount of encouragement received from parents and teachers to continue education past high school. They measure the degree of support to succeed that exists within the youth's social environment. A third measure looks at the types of reading materials available in the youth's home, and is an indicator of the degree to which the members of the family encourage and model the activity of reading, which is positively associated with educational attainment (Moore et al. 1993). Finally, there is a measure of the degree of residential stability experienced by the youth from birth to the early teens. Such stability has been associated with stronger community contacts and support, an important aspect of social capital (Coleman, 1988).

number of types of reading materials in the home at age 14.

This variable has a range of 0-3, with one point given when one of the following was present in the home; magazines, newspapers, and a library card held by one or more family members.

parental encouragement to continue education past high school.

This variable indicates whether the respondent received much, some or no encouragement from parents to continue their education past the high school level. This measure was used in analyses guided by the Wisconsin social-psychological model of socioeconomic attainment (Sewell and Hauser 1975).

teacher encouragement to continue past high school.

This variable indicates whether the respondent received much, some or no encouragement from teachers to continue their education past the high school level. It was constructed in the same manner as the parental encouragement variable. This measure also appeared in analyses guided by the Wisconsin social-psychological model.

residential stability.

This measure indicates the timing of the most recent inter-county residential move from birth to the first year of the survey, when the respondents in our main sample were ages 14-17. The coding of the original variable (less than one year, one year or more, or lived in same

county for entire life) was maintained for our analyses. This is far from an ideal operationalization of residential stability; the time breaks are crude, and intra-county moves are not taken into account. Nevertheless, it measures moves which clearly involve loss of community contacts, a critical aspect of social capital.

Intermediate Life Course Outcomes

These are measures of events which take place during the transition from youth to adulthood, and which are known or suspected to be significantly associated with achievement in later adulthood. There are two classes of these variables, which we refer to as *mis-steps* and *middle steps*.

The mis-steps are measures that are expected to negatively impact later achievement. Three measures were identified.

years of unstable employment.

This variable indicates the number of years between the ages of 18 and 26 in which the respondent was not in school and not working for at least 26 out of 52 weeks. Unstable employment in youth has been shown to be associated with lesser socioeconomic attainment in adulthood for both men and women (Ellwood 1982, Corcoran 1982, Brown 1993). The variable is grouped into three categories: 0 years, 1 year, and 2 or more years of unstable employment. The variable underestimates the actual number of years of unstable employment because employment data were not available for those four years in which the survey was not done.

delayed graduation from high school.

This is a dichotomous measure indicating whether those who have graduated from high school did so after age 18. Grade repetition, which has been linked to lesser socioeconomic attainment in adulthood (Brooks-Gunn, Guo and Furstenberg, forthcoming), is a common cause of delayed graduation.

early marriage.

Early marriage has been associated with a number of difficulties in adulthood including divorce and lower family income (Moore et al., 1993). This is a dichotomous variable indicating whether one ever married before the age of 20.

In addition to measures of mis-steps, two additional early life course events which may significantly impact adult socioeconomic attainment are included in the analyses. These are referred to as middle-steps.

ever served in armed forces by age 26.

Due primarily to the military draft, slightly more than one third of the main sample (both white and African-American) had served in the armed forces by age 26. It is unclear what the net effect of this service is likely to be on later socioeconomic attainment since it has both positive (e.g. vocational skill development, personal discipline enhancement) and negative (delayed entry into the civilian labor force) aspects. It was included without a directional hypothesis because it was a common and potentially important event in the lives of this cohort of men.

ever received occupational training by age 26.

Occupational training has long been prescribed as a means of increasing socioeconomic attainment and stability among at-risk youth. The variable is a dichotomous measure indicating whether the respondent had ever received occupational training of any sort by age 26. The measure includes all types of training such as on-the-job training, school-related training, and training from government programs.

Measures of Adult Achievement

In operationalizing the concept of achievement, analyses have been limited to measures of socioeconomic attainment. Within that focus, we look at seven measures in three areas; education, employment, and income. Most of the analyses refer to outcomes measured at or around age 29 for reasons detailed above. Selected descriptive analyses were also performed on outcomes measured on or around age 35. As noted above, for outcomes related to a specific age rather than a specific survey year, data were not always available for the exact age because the survey was not given in some years. In such cases data were taken from the adjacent year in which the respondent was closest to the target age at the time of the interview.

educational attainment at age (29,35).

Years of completed education by age (29,35).

hourly wage at age (29,35).

Hourly wage of present or most recent job, in 1989 dollars.

yearly earnings at age (29,35).

Respondent's yearly earnings in single 1989 dollars.

total family income in 1981.

Total family income for year preceding 1981 interview, in single 1989 dollars.

net family assets in 1981.

Total net family assets in 1981, in single 1989 dollars.

occupational status at age (29,35).

Duncan SEI score of occupational status. This is a scale of occupational status with a range of 1 to 99 originally developed by Otis Dudley Duncan. Scores are based on the average income and educational level of each Census Bureau defined occupational category. Higher scores denote higher status.

weeks unemployed in 1981.

Total number of weeks unemployed in the 52 weeks preceding the 1981 survey. Includes all weeks not working regardless of labor force status.

All of the adult achievement variables are continuous. In the descriptive analyses which follow, data are presented in terms of mean values, and as distributions across ordered categorical groupings. Five of the measures (the four income-related variables and the occupational status score) were recoded into low, medium and high categories as follows:

Low = bottom quartile based on whole weighted sample;

Medium = middle two quartiles based on whole weighted sample;

High = top quartile based on whole weighted sample.

Educational attainment was recoded into three categories: less than high school, high school, and 1+ years of college. Weeks unemployed were recoded into two categories: less than 5 weeks, and 5+ weeks.

WEIGHTING

In the analyses that follow the sample weight for the year in which the latest measure in the analysis was taken is used. For example, in tables relating risk measures (taken in 1966) to socioeconomic attainment measures taken in 1981, the 1981 weight is used. This is in accordance with recommended procedures from Ohio state regarding weighting for data from multiple years (NLS Users Guide, 1993, p. 31). In analyses involving age specific measures (e.g., age 29), the weight from the year in which the respondent was age 29 is used.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSES

These descriptive analyses have two broad goals. The first purpose is to evaluate the appropriateness of the categorization of the measures of risk, social capital, early mis-steps, and adult achievement. To what degree is each risk measure associated with lower adult socioeconomic attainment? Which of the social capital measures improve adult achievement? Are the mis-step measures really mis-steps (i.e. do they negatively impact adult achievement)? Which of the early life course measures form part of the pathway leading from risk to achievement for at-risk males? How well do the operationalized measures of adult achievement function as achievement measures? These questions are explored here in a bivariate context, and will be pursued in more depth with multivariate analyses in the next chapter.

The second and equally important purpose is to examine the distribution of these characteristics across the population. Who is identified as at-risk by our measures? To what extent do those at risk have access to the potentially positive influences of various sorts of social capital? What proportion of youth (both at-risk and not at-risk) experience early mis-steps and other important life course events which may impact adult achievement? What proportion of at-risk youth achieve as adults? It is as important to know who is affected by these factors as it is to know how their lives are affected by them.

Analysis results are presented in summary tables that appear in the body of the chapter, and in detailed tables that are grouped at the end of the chapter. Summary tables indicate whether there is a significant relationship between variables (e.g., between each risk factor and each measure of adult attainment) and the direction of that relationship. The detailed tables contain both crosstabulations with percent distributions across categories and, when continuous variables are involved, group means. Appropriate tests of significance are reported. For tables that include measures of adult achievement (all of which are continuous), these variables are redefined into two or three ordered categories and cross-tabulations are presented in order to explore variable relationships at distinct levels of positive achievement. Our text will concentrate on information contained in the summary tables, and highlight trends found in the more detailed tables.

WHO IS AT-RISK?

Table One shows the percent of young white and African-American men of this cohort who were at-risk according to each of the six single item measures of risk. In this and subsequent tables, the at-risk group is always the second category listed under each row variable heading. In assessing the overall importance of these risk factors, one must know both their relation to adult achievement and the proportion of the population affected by them. We begin by investigating the latter.

In addition, two multi-item measures of risk are examined. In recent years a great deal of attention has been given to the cumulative impact of multiple risks on the health, well-being and attainment of children and youth (Smith and Zaslow forthcoming, Moore, Nord and Peterson 1989). The first measure identifies young men from families headed by single parents with less than a high school education. The second is a risk scale, a simple additive measure of the five family-based single item risk measures.[2]

William Julius Wilson has argued that, while the significance of racism was declining as a factor determining the achievement of African-Americans, it had left a legacy of class and status disadvantages which continued to put black people at great disadvantage relative to whites (Wilson 1978). Table One clearly documents the extent of this relative disadvantage. Across the six single-item measures of risk, the proportion of at-risk African-American males ranged from a low of 37 percent (living with fewer than two parents), to a high of 75 percent (families below 150% of the poverty line). By contrast, the proportion of whites at-risk ranged from 10 percent who were living with fewer than two parents, to 33 percent whose parents had less than a high school degree. For four of the six measures, more than 50 percent of African-American males were classified as at-risk. By contrast, one quarter or fewer whites were so classified for four of the six measures.

The unequal exposure to risk by race is even clearer when one examines the multiple risk measures. Only six percent of all white males came from families headed by a single parent lacking

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[2]Central city residence was not included in the risk scale because later analyses revealed that it was most often related to positive rather than negative adult achievement.

TABLE 1
INCIDENCE OF RISK: VARIATIONS BY DEFINITION OF RISK AND RACE

RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Family Structure at Age 14		
2 Parents	90%	63%
< 2 Parents	10%	37%
Unweighted N	1529	711
Number of Siblings		
0-3	70%	37%
4+	30%	63%
Unweighted N	1512	703
Parent's Education		
High School +	67%	48%
< High School	33%	52%
Unweighted N	1534	711
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14		
Not Low	84%	48%
Low	16%	52%
Unweighted N	1428	599
Family Poverty Ratio		
150 + Percent	77%	25%
< 150 Percent	23%	75%
Unweighted N	1433	680
Place of Residence		
Outside Central City	75%	52%
Inside Central City	25%	48%
Unweighted N	1534	711
Single Parent with < High School Education		
No	94%	68%
Yes	6%	32%
Unweighted N	1534	711
Scale of Risk*		
0 Risk	42%	5%
1 Risks	28%	12%
2 Risks	15%	17%
3 Risks	10%	29%
4 Risks	5%	30%
5 Risks	0%	7%
Unweighted N	1522	704

* Central city residence not included as a component of the risk scale.
Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M

a high school degree, compared to one third of all African-American males. The additive risk scale shows that 42 percent of all whites had zero risks compared to only five percent of African-Americans. At the other end of the scale, five percent of whites had four or more risks compared to 37 percent of African-Americans.

These data powerfully demonstrate that African-American males of this cohort were far more likely than whites to come from backgrounds which could limit their achievement as adults. These young men grew up during the 1960s, nearly three decades ago. Since that time, the proportion of those at-risk has changed for both race groups, increasing for some measures (e.g. the proportion living in single-parent families) and decreasing for others (e.g. the proportion with four or more siblings or with parents who lack a high school degree). Though evidence indicates that African-Americans have closed the gap somewhat for some measures of risk, the gap is still very large (Farley and Allen, 1984). Many, in fact, argue that the intervening period has seen substantial increases in the size of the multiply-disadvantaged black underclass (Wilson 1987, Lemann 1986).

Table Two shows the average number of additional risk factors for youth defined as at-risk and not at-risk by each of the single item measures.[3] For each at-risk group, the number shown reflects the average number of risk groups that they fall into in addition to their own.

This table allows us to look at the extent to which those with any particular risk are more likely to suffer from other risk factors compared with those outside the risk group, and whether certain single-item measures are associated with higher levels of multiple risk than others. In addition, it allows us to see whether the race differences in exposure to multiple risks decreases among those who have at least on risk factor.

For both race groups, those with a single risk factor were likely to suffer multiple risks. For example, those from families with incomes below 150 percent of the poverty line had on average 1.6 additional risks for whites and 2.4 additional risks for African-Americans. In addition, those within any particular risk group were more likely than those in the not at-risk group to suffer from other risk factors.

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[3]Central city residence is not included in the risk totals for reasons outlined above.

TABLE 2
AVERAGE NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL RISK FACTORS AMONG AT-RISK AND NOT AT-RISK YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY DEFINITION AND RACE*

RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	RACE GROUP DIFFERENCE
Family Structure at Age 14			
2 Parents	0.9	2.4	+1.3
< 2 Parents	1.6	2.7	+1.1
Number of Siblings			
0-3	0.6	2.0	+1.4
4+	1.2	2.4	+1.2
Parent's Education			
High School +	0.5	1.5	+1.0
< High School	1.3	2.4	+1.1
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14			
Not Low	0.7	2.0	+1.3
Low	1.5	2.6	+1.1
Family Poverty Ratio			
150 + Percent	0.6	1.6	+1.0
< 150 Percent	1.6	2.4	+0.8

* Central city residence not included as a component of the risk scale.
Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M

Though some measures were associated with more total risks than others, no measure had particularly high numbers of risks associated with it relative to the others. For both races, those from single parent families showed the highest average number of additional risks. Differences across risk groups were not great, however, ranging from 1.2 to 1.6 additional risks for whites, and from 2.4 to 2.7 for African-Americans.

For four of the five risk measures, the difference across race groups in average number of additional risks was smaller for those in the at-risk group (see column three). The differences were generally small, however, indicating that race differences in total exposure to risk remain strong even among those within a particular risk group.

RISK GROUPS AND ADULT ACHIEVEMENT.

To qualify as a risk factor, one must be able to demonstrate that the measure is somehow related to some undesirable outcome or outcomes. Table Three summarizes the pattern of significant bivariate relationships found between each of the risk measures and seven measures of adult socioeconomic attainment measured at or around age 29. These measures include educational attainment, four income-related measures (hourly wage, yearly earnings, net family income, and net family assets), a measure of occupational status, and the number of weeks unemployed in the previous year. Significance is determined at the .05 level by t-tests on the difference between means for at-risk and not at-risk group for each measure of risk.

Based on this table a global evaluation of each risk measure can be performed, noting the extent to which it predicts to lesser achievement across the seven outcome measures. Factors representing true risks to adult socioeconomic attainment should predict to a variety of attainment measures. We are also interested to examine the overall sensitivity of particular achievement measures to the indicators of risk. Such information is important substantively and will help in deciding on a subset of outcomes to pursue in the multi-variate analyses.

In addition, we are interested in both the actual levels of achievement among at-risk youth and the size of the achievement penalty associated with each significant risk measure. Tables Ten

TABLE 3
SUMMARY TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONS BETWEEN MEASURES OF ADULT SOCIOECONOMIC ATTAINMENT AND MEASURES OF RISK

(Summary of Tables 10-16)

	Educational Attainment, Age 29		Hourly Wage, Age 29		Yearly Earnings Age 29		Net Family Income 1981 (Ages 29-32)		Net Family Assets 1981 (Ages 29-32)		Occupational Status (SEI) Age 29		Weeks Unemployed 1981 (Ages 29-32)	
RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Family Structure at Age 14														
2 Parents	---	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	---	0	0	0
< 2 Parents														
Number of Siblings														
0-3	---	---	---	0	0	0	---	---	0	0	---	---	0	0
4+														
Parent's Education														
High School +	---	---	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	---	---	0	0
< High School														
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14														
Not Low	---	---	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	---	---	0	---
Low														
Family Poverty Ratio														
150 + Percent	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0	0	---	---	0	0
< 150 Percent														
Place of Residence														
Outside Central City											0	+	0	+
Inside Central City	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0				
Single Parent with < High School Education														
No	---	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	---	0	0	---
Yes														
Scale of Risk														
0 Risk	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0	0	0	---	---	0	---
1-3 Risks														
4 + Risks														

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

+ = Positive relation, .05 level
- = Negative relation, .05 level
0 = No relation, .05 level

through Sixteen (located at the end of this chapter) offer both mean outcome levels for at-risk and not at-risk youth, and crosstabulations between risk measures and achievement measures coded into ordered categories reflecting the percent of at-risk youth achieving greater and lesser levels of attainment.

As can be seen in Table Three, there is a great deal of variation in the degree of sensitivity of various risk measures to the outcome measures of adult achievement. The most unexpected results come from the central city residence measure. For African-American males, residence in a central city as a youth was positively associated with four of the seven measures of adult attainment. For whites, it was positively associated with higher earnings only. This variable acted as a risk factor only for the weeks unemployed outcome, and then only for the African-American sample. These positive results may be due, at least in part, to the fact that central city residents had fewer of the other risk factors than those living elsewhere, particularly for African-Americans (see Table Two). This measure may yet prove to be a risk factor once other background characteristics are controlled, as they will be in the multivariate analyses featured in the next chapter.

For two of the outcome measures (net family assets and weeks unemployed) risk measures are virtually never significantly related, at least not in the expected direction. Across the five remaining outcomes, the family poverty ratio and the additive scale of risk are the measures most consistently associated with lower adult achievement. Family poverty is significantly related to all five of these outcomes for both races. The risk scale also associated with all five outcomes for white males, and with four of five outcomes for African-American males (the fifth, net family income, was associated at the .10 level).

Three of the risk measures (having fewer than two parents, low parental occupational attainment, and having a single parent with less than a high school education) were associated with only one or two achievement measures each. The remaining two measures (having four or more siblings and having parents with less than a high school education) were associated with four outcomes for whites, and two to three outcomes for African-Americans.

As general indicators of risk, the poverty ratio and the additive scale are clearly the strongest measures. These would be the preferred candidates if one were looking for a single summary

indicator of risk to positive adult socioeconomic attainment. The relatively weak showing for the single parent risk measure is surprising, particularly given the attention it has been given as a central source of difficulty within the African-American community (Moynihan 1965, Murray 1984).

With minor exceptions (e.g., the central city residence measure), the risk measures acted similarly for both race groups. Some measures were less likely to show significant effects for African-Americans. Examination of the difference in the means between at-risk and not at-risk groups in such cases revealed sizeable but non-significant differences for the African-American sample, indicating that the lack of significance may have been the result of smaller sample size. This issue of whether risk factors effect the races differently will be taken up in more detail in the multi-variate analyses presented in Chapter Two.

As can be seen in Table Three, there is a great deal of variation in the overall sensitivity of outcome measures to the risk factors. Educational attainment and occupational status (columns one and six) were associated in the expected direction with nearly all of the risk measures, both single and multi-item. This was true for both race groups. At the other extreme, net family assets (column five) was not significantly related to any of the risk measures for either race group (though some were related at the .10 level for whites). For whites, there were no significant relations to the weeks unemployed outcome (column seven). For African-American males, there is the unexpected result that several risk measures are actually associated with fewer weeks of unemployment (as denoted by the minus signs). Only central city residence is associated with more weeks unemployed. The remaining outcome measures (hourly wage, yearly earnings and net family income) were sensitive to some risk measures and not to others.

These analyses were also run for selected risk measures on outcomes measured at or around age 35. The risk measures used include having fewer than two parents, four or more siblings, parents with less than a high school degree, and having a single parent with less than a high school degree. The results, and their age 29 counterparts, are summarized in Table Four. A systematic comparison between age 29 and age 35 outcomes indicates that the risk-achievement relationship remains strong for the education and occupational status measures at age 35, and strengthens considerably for all income-related achievement measures (hourly wages, yearly earnings, net family income, and net family assets). Out of a total of sixteen relationships, the number of significant

TABLE 4
SUMMARY TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONS BETWEEN MEASURES OF RISK AND MEASURES OF ADULT SOCIOECONOMIC ATTAINMENT: COMPARISON OF OUTCOMES MEASURED AROUND AGES 29 AND 35

(Summary of Tables 17-23)

	Educational Attainment, Age 35		Hourly Wage, Age 35		Yearly Earnings Age 35		Net Family Income 1981 (Ages 34-39)		Net Family Assets 1981 (Ages 34-39)		Occupational Status (SEI) Age 35		Weeks Unemployed 1981 (Ages 34-39)	
RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Family Structure at Age 14														
2 Parents	---	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	0	0
< 2 Parents														
Number of Siblings														
0-3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0	---	---	0	0
4+														
Parent's Education														
High School +	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	+	---
< High School														
Single Parent with <High School Education														
No	---	---	---	---	---	0	---	---	0	0	---	---	0	0
Yes														

	Educational Attainment, Age 29		Hourly Wage, Age 29		Yearly Earnings Age 29		Net Family Income 1981 (Ages 29)		Net Family Assets 1981 (Ages 29)		Occupational Status (SEI) Age 29		Weeks Unemployed 1981 (Ages 29)	
RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Family Structure at Age 14														
2 Parents	---	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	---	0	0	0
< 2 Parents														
Number of Siblings														
0-3	---	---	---	0	0	0	---	---	0	0	---	---	0	0
4+														
Parent's Education														
High School +	---	---	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	---	---	0	0
< High School														
Single Parent with <High School Education														
No	---	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0	0	---	0	0	0
Yes														

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

+ = Positive relation, .05 level
- = Negative relation, .05 level
0 = No relation, .05 level

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relationships between risk and income measures increases from four to fifteen for whites, and from three to nine for African-American men. One might have expected the relationship between the background characteristics of youth and adult achievement to decay as the young men became older, simply because of the increase in the number of intervening events which can affect attainment. Instead, it appears that the full impact of risk factors only become evident as men begin to enter their peak earning years.

The costs associated with being at-risk can be substantial. For example, whites with parents lacking high school educations completed 1.8 fewer years of education than those with better educated parents; African-American men from such families completed 1.3 fewer years (see Table Ten). Whites from low income families (< 150% poverty) earn $1.40 per hour and $3000 per year less at age 29 than those from other families. For black men the differences are $3.00 per hour and $6500 per year (see Tables Eleven and Twelve).

Nevertheless, at-risk youth are by no means destined to fail as adults; far from it. White at-risk youth completed on average between 12.0 and 13.1 years of education, depending on the risk measure considered. Between 72 percent and 89 percent of them completed high school, and between one quarter and one half completed one or more years of college (see Table Ten). Between 70 and 75 percent of all black at-risk youth completed high school, and 27 to 35 percent completed one or more years of college.

The record of positive achievement among at-risk youth is maintained across the remaining measures of adult achievement for white men. For African-American at-risk youth, however, the levels of positive achievement are more modest for the remaining measures, but this appears to be due to greater racial disparities in the areas of income and occupational status rather than to the effects of risk per-se. For example, among those from low income families, 24 percent of whites attained "high" earnings compared to 7 percent of African-American men, "high" being defined as in the top population quartile of earnings for all males at age 29 (see Table Twelve). Among African-American men who did not come from low income families, 19 percent achieved high earnings. While this represents a considerable improvement over the black risk group, it is still less than that achieved by whites who were at-risk.

WHO HAS ACCESS TO SOCIAL CAPITAL?

In this section we explore whether at-risk youth have less access to social capital than non at-risk youth, as well as the absolute amounts of social capital available to them.

Four measures of social capital are analyzed:

- number of types of reading materials in the household at age 14 (newspapers, magazines, library card);
- degree of parental encouragement to continue education past high school;
- degree of teacher encouragement to continue education past high school;
- degree of residential stability while growing up.

Table Five provides a summary of the relationships between these measures of social capital and the measures of risk. Significant relationships were determined at the .05 level using Chi square analyses. For both race groups, the reading materials measure was significantly related to all risk measures (with the exception of central city residence), with at-risk youth exposed to fewer reading materials in the home. The difference in levels of access was often substantial. For example, using parental education as a risk measure, 40 percent of white at-risk youth were exposed to all three kinds of reading material, compared to 76 percent for those not at-risk. For African-American men comparable numbers were 19 percent and 56 percent. Fifty-four percent of African-American male youth and 25 percent of white males who were at-risk by this definition had access to zero or one types of reading materials (see Table Twenty-four).

Parental and teacher encouragement were significantly associated with most measures of achievement for whites, with those at-risk receiving less encouragement than those not at-risk. Differences between at-risk and not ar-risk white youth in the percent receiving "much" parental encouragement were as large as 20 percentage points for the single item measures of risk, and over 30 points comparing the extreme groups on the risk scale (see Table Twenty-five). Differences regarding the receipt of "much" encouragement from teachers were more modest, generally around 10 percentage points (see Table Twenty-six). For African-American males there were no significant differences between at-risk and not at-risk youth in access to either parental or teacher encouragement.

TABLE 5
WHO HAS ACCESS TO SOCIAL CAPITAL: VARIATIONS BY RISK AND RACE

(Summary of Tables 24-27)

	Number of Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14		Parental Encouragement to Continue Education Past High School		Teacher Encouragement To Continue Education Past High School		Residential Stability:	
RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN- AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN- AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN- AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN- AMERICAN
Family Structure at Age 1 2 Parents < 2 Parents	---	---	---	0	---	0	---	0
Number of Siblings 0-3 4+	---	---	---	0	---	0	0	0
Parent's Education High School + < High School	---	---	---	0	---	0	0	0
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14 Not Low Low	---	---	---	0	0	0	+	0
Family Poverty Ratio 150 + Percent < 150 Percent	---	---	---	0	---	0	0	0
Place of Residence Outside Central City Inside Central City	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Single Parent with < High School Education No Yes	---	---	---	0	0	0	0	0
Scale of Risk 0 Risk 1-3 Risks 4 + Risks	---	---	---	0	---	0	0	0

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

+ = Positive relation, .05 level
- = Negative relation, .05 level
0 = No relation, .05 level

At-risk youth of both races had access to a substantial amount of parental encouragement. Forty to fifty percent of white at-risk males received "much" encouragement from their parents to continue their education past high school; over three quarters received at least some encouragement. At-risk African-American males received even more encouragement than their white counterparts, with 50 to 60 percent receiving "much" encouragement, a level equal to that received by the not at-risk of either race (Table Twenty-five). This finding may possibly reflect a belief within the African-American community that education is a primary road to success for their young men and women. It indicates that parents in black families of this generation may have followed a strategy that attempted to substitute social capital for human and financial capital resources.

Forty-three percent of whites and 41 percent of African-American male youth received "much" teacher encouragement. The percent of at-risk youth receiving much teacher encouragement never went below 32 percent for whites, and 35 percent for blacks (Table Twenty-six).

Residential stability was never significantly related to risk status for the African-American group. For whites, those from families with fewer than two parents were slightly less stable than those with two parents, and those from low occupational status families were slightly more stable than those from other families (see Table Twenty-seven). Approximately one half of the white sample and 70 percent of the black sample were residentially stable by this measures, having never moved out of their county of birth by 1966 (ages 14-17). It is unclear why whites should have been more mobile than blacks.

Summary. Certain forms of social capital were clearly less available to at-risk youth. This was true of reading materials for both races, and for both parental and teacher encouragement for white male youth. The good news is that many forms of social capital are equally or nearly equally available to both at-risk and not at-risk youth, particularly for African-American men. This is important, because it means that at-risk families who may be lacking in financial or human capital can still draw upon a stock of social capital to improve the long-term prospects for their sons. Finally, some forms of social capital were more available to one race than another, even after controlling for risk status. African-American youth had substantially less exposure to reading materials in the home, but were more residentially stable than white youth.

WHAT IS THE WORTH OF SOCIAL CAPITAL?

For our purposes, social capital only functions as capital to the extent that it is significantly and positively associated with measures of adult socioeconomic attainment. Table Six provides a summary of the bi-variate relationships existing between the four social capital measures and the measures of adult attainment. Significance is determined at the .05 level, and is based on t-tests for the difference between means of the low and high categories of each social capital measure. More detailed statistical comparisons are displayed in Tables Twenty-eight through Thirty-four at the end of the chapter.

For three of the social capital measures, those related to reading materials in the home, parental and teacher encouragement, there is a consistent and positive relation to measures of adult attainment with the exception of the "weeks unemployed" outcome. For weeks unemployed only one significant relation was uncovered, and that relation indicated that blacks with greater exposure to reading materials were likely to be unemployed for more weeks at age 29 than those with few or no reading materials in the home.

For whites, parental encouragement is positively associated with all six of the remaining attainment measures; teacher encouragement and reading materials are each associated with five measures of attainment. For African-American males, teacher encouragement is the most consistently associated with positive achievement, being positively associated with all six of the remaining attainment measures. Reading materials in the home is positively associated with four outcomes, and parental encouragement with three (educational attainment, yearly earnings, and occupational status).

The residential stability measure was never significantly related to adult attainment measures for African-Americans. For whites, greater residential stability was actually associated with lower occupational status attainment, was related to family assets in a curvilinear fashion, and was not significantly related to the remaining attainment measures. Counter to what one would expect based on Coleman's work, residential stability as measured here does not appear to operate as a form of social capital where adult socioeconomic attainment is concerned. Admittedly, however, this measure does not capture multiple moves (emphasized by Coleman), nor does it reflect intra-county moves.

TABLE 6
SUMMARY TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MEASURES OF ADULT SOCIOECONOMIC ATTAINMENT AND MEASURES OF RISK

(Summary of Tables 28-34)

	Educational Attainment, Age 29		Hourly Wage, Age 29		Yearly Earnings Age 29		Net Family Income 1981 (Ages 29-32)		Net Family Assets 1981 (Ages 29-32)		Occupational Status (SEI) Age 29		Weeks Unemployed 1981 (Ages 29-32)	
RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14														
0-1	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+
2														
3														
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education														
Much	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	0
Some														
None														
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education														
Much	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0
Some														
None														
Residential Stability While Growing														
< 1 Year	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*	0	—	0	0	0
1 + Years														
Entire Life														

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

+ = Positive relation, .05 level
- = Negative relation, .05 level
0 = No relation, .05 level

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Analyses with more finely detailed mobility information are needed to further evaluate residential stability as a social capital concept.

A review of the numbers associated in Tables Twenty-eight through Thirty-four demonstrates that the those who were rich in social capital in youth attain far more as adults. For example, compared to those who had 0-1 types of reading materials in the home, whites who were exposed to all three types of reading materials attained an additional 1.8 years of education (Table Twenty-eight), $7200 in family income (Table Thirty-one,) and had occupations of much higher status (with Duncan scores of 47 versus 33 on a scale ranging from 1 to 99). The gains for blacks rich in this form of social capital were only slightly more modest. Contrasts between extreme categories for parental and teacher encouragement show effects similar in magnitude to those for the reading materials measure, with those in the highest category showing very comparable absolute levels of achievement across significantly related social capital measures.

For the majority of cases where there are significant relationships between social capital and achievement measures, those falling into the middle category of the social capital measure (i.e., those with two types of reading materials, those receiving "some" as opposed to "much" or "no" parental or teacher encouragement) show achievement levels roughly half way between the extreme categories. For example, whites receiving no parental encouragement attain 12.1 years of education on average, compared to 13.4 years for those receiving "some" encouragement and 14.4 years for those receiving "much" encouragement (Table Twenty-eight). The only outcome for which this does not seem to hold true is the hourly wage, where the critical difference seems to be any versus no social capital (though only for whites, since there were no significant relationships for blacks) (Table Twenty-nine). These findings have important policy implications, indicating as they do that some social capital is better than none, and more is generally better than some.

The social capital-adult achievement relationship was also explored for outcomes measured at or around age 35 to see whether the pattern or strength of relationships changed at older ages. Table Seven is a summary of the results of these analyses, comparing results at ages 29 and 35. Detailed numerical results for age 35 outcomes can be found in Tables Thirty-five through Forty-one. The residential stability variable was not included here as it was generally not available for those in the sample used to generate data for the age 35 outcomes.

TABLE 7
SUMMARY TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONS BETWEEN SELECTED MEASURES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MEASURES OF SOCIOECONOMIC ATTAINMENT: COMPARISON OF OUTCOMES MEASURED AROUND AGES 29 AND 35

(Summary of Tables 28-34 and 35-41)

	Education Attainment, Age 35		Hourly Wage, Age 35		Yearly Earnings Age 35		Net Family Income 1981 (Ages 34-39)		Net Family Assets 1981 (Ages 34-39)		Occupational Status (SEI) Age 35		Weeks Unemployed 1981 (Ages 34-39)	
RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14														
0-1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0
2														
3														
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education														
Much	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0
Some														
None														
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education														
Much	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0
Some														
None														

	Education Attainment, Age 29		Hourly Wage, Age 29		Yearly Earnings Age 29		Net Family Income 1981 (Ages 29-32)		Net Family Assets 1981 (Ages 29-32)		Occupational Status (SEI) Age 29		Weeks Unemployed 1981 (Ages 29-32)	
RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14														
0-1	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+
2														
3														
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education														
Much	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+	+	0	0
Some														
None														
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education														
Much	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	0
Some														
None														

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

+ = Positive relation, .05 level
- = Negative relation, .05 level
0 = No relation, .05 level

The pattern of relationships involving outcomes measured at the older ages is very similar to those measured at or around age 29. The absolute size of the differences between low and high social capital groups are often substantially larger for the income-related and occupation measures taken at or around age 35, and are similar for the educational attainment measure. This is not surprising, since both wages and occupational status continue to rise generally between ages 29 and 35, whereas educational attainment does not.

Summary. These analyses reveal strong bivariate relationships between three of the social capital measures and the various measures of adult socioeconomic attainment. This indicates that social capital may operate as a powerful protective factor improving the levels of positive achievement among at-risk youth. The independent contributions of the social capital measures (net of each other and net of risk factors) will be explored in the multivariate analyses in the next chapter. Residential stability was not positively associated with adult achievement in these bivariate analyses.

THE PATHWAY FROM YOUTH TO ADULTHOOD: MIS-STEPS AND MIDDLE STEPS.

The pathway from youth to adulthood is comprised of many important events which can profoundly influence later achievement. In addition, events in early adulthood may form part a causal pathway mediating the relationship of the risk and social capital factors of one's youth to socioeconomic attainment in later adulthood.

As discussed earlier, five measures representing important elements of men's life course path between youth and adulthood have been chosen for analysis. Three are measures of early mis-steps, consisting of unstable employment (not in school and not working for 26 or more out of 52 weeks), late graduation from high school[4] (age 19 or older), and early marriage (before age 20). The two remaining measures (which have been labeled simply middle-steps) indicate whether one has ever received occupational training or served in the armed forces by age 26. Occupational training has

[4]Note that the analyses of late high school graduation reported here and represented in tables 8 and 42 compare on time with late graduates only, and do not include those who never graduated from high school.

been included because it has figured so prominently in policy solutions to the employment problems of at-risk youth (Anderson and Sawhill, 1980). Military service is included because it was such a common and potentially powerful experience for this generation of young men owing to the draft and the Viet Nam war.

Several questions guide the descriptive analysis of these measures.

- Are those at-risk more likely to experience these events, particularly the mis-steps?
- What proportion of at-risk youth experience these events?
- How are these events related to measures of adult socioeconomic attainment?

Table Eight is a summary of the relationships between the life course pathway measures and the measures of risk. Significance is gauged at the .05 level, and is based on Chi square tests. It is expected that those who come from high risk backgrounds will be more likely to experience negative mis-steps in early adulthood. It is also expected for at-risk youth to have been more likely to have served in the armed forces due to the availability of draft deferments for those who were attending college. We have no specific expectations regarding the relationship of risk to occupational training.

Selected risk factors were strongly related to delayed graduation from high school for both race groups. For whites, 43 percent of high school graduates with parents lacking a high school degree graduated late compared to 24 percent for those with more educated parents, a gap of 19 percentage points (Table Forty-two). For African-Americans the gap is even larger at 29 percentage points (52 versus 23 percent). The gaps are even larger between extreme categories of the risk scale measure.

For the remaining life course measures, their relationship to measures of risk were generally not significant, and when significant were relatively modest. For African-American males, there were no significant relationships for the remaining life course measures (unstable employment, early marriage, military service, and occupational training). For white males, the few significant relationships showed generally small differences between at-risk and not at-risk youth. As a typical example, 34 percent of those with parents lacking a high school education had one or more years of unstable employment, versus 27 percent for those with more educated parents (see Table Forty-

TABLE 8
SUMMARY TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONS BETWEEN RISK STATUS AND EARLY LIFE COURSE OUTCOMES: MIS-STEPS AND MIDDLE STEPS

(Summary of Tables 42-46)

	Mis-Steps						Middle Step			
	Late High School Graduation		Unstable Employment By Age 26		Whether Married Before Age 20		Military Service By Age 26		Received Occupational Training By Age 26	
RISK STATUS	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Family Structure at Age 14 2 Parents < 2 Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of Siblings 0-3 4+	+	0	+	0	-	0	+	0	0	0
Parent's Education High School + < High School	+	+	+	0	-	0	0	0	0	0
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14 Not Low Low	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Family Poverty Ratio 150 + Percent < 150 Percent	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Place of Residence Outside Central City Inside Central City	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Single Parent with < High School Education No Yes	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scale of Risk 0 Risk 1-3 Risks 4 + Risks	+	+	0	0	*	0	*	0	0	0

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey: NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

+ = Positive relation, .05 level
- = Negative relation, .05 level
0 = No relation, .05 level
* = Non linear relationship

three). Using the same risk measure, 15 percent of at-risk youth were married early versus 7 percent of those not at-risk (Table Forty-four). While this represents more than double the rate for at-risk youth, the difference in absolute terms is small. The curvilinear relationship between the risk scale and early marriage for whites is notable, indicating that those with 1-3 risks are more likely to marry early than those with 0 risks or with 4 or more risks. It is likely that those with the fewest risks are delaying marriage on purpose, whereas those in the high risk category are not marrying early for lack of opportunity.

With the exception of delayed graduation from high school, and counter to expectations, at-risk youth are not substantially more likely to experience any of these life course events. The lack of a relationship with unstable labor force participation is particularly puzzling given that such a link has been established elsewhere, though in research using more recent data (Powers 1992, Brown 1993).

A substantial proportion of both at-risk and not at-risk youth experienced delayed high school graduation and period(s) of unstable employment. Twenty-nine percent of white high school graduates and 44 percent of African-American high school graduates graduated late, at age 19 or older. For at-risk youth the proportions went as high as 49 percent for whites and 60 percent for blacks among those with four or more risks on the risk scale (Table Forty-two).

Twenty-nine percent of white males and 51 percent of African-American males have experienced at least one year of unstable employment by age 26 (Table Forty-three). Eight percent of whites and 20 percent of blacks had experienced two or more years of unstable employment by that age. The numbers for at-risk youth were in all cases very close to these population estimates. Early marriage was experienced by only 10 percent of men of both races (Table Forty-four). For white at-risk youth, as many as 15 percent married early. Estimates for black at-risk youth ranged from 7 to 12 percent (Table Forty-four).

As noted above, slightly more than one third of both white and African-American young men in this cohort served in the armed forces by age 26 (Table Forty-five). Rates of service among at-risk youth ran as high as 40 percent (for whites with four or more siblings), but were generally comparable to rates experienced by all youth. Finally, 38 percent of white males and 45 percent of

black males received at least some occupational training by age 26, with no significant variations by risk status.

With the exception of the early marriage measure, the early adult life course events investigated here were fairly common events for at-risk and not at-risk youth alike. The final set of tables look at their potential impact on adult socioeconomic attainment.

Table Nine offers a summary of the bi-variate relationships between the early outcomes measures (mis-steps and middle steps) and the measures of adult socioeconomic attainment measured at or around age 29. Educational attainment is not included in these analyses because such attainment is most often determined prior to the early outcomes included in the table. Significance is determined at the .05 level, and is based on t-tests for the difference between means of the low and high categories of each early outcome measure. More detailed statistical comparisons are displayed in Tables Forty-seven through Fifty-two at the end of the chapter.

Of the three measures designated as mis-steps, unstable employment is the most consistently related to lower levels of adult attainment. It is significantly related to all six outcome measures for whites, and to four of six outcomes for African-American men (the "+" signs under weeks unemployed indicate that unstable employment is related to more weeks of unemployment at age 29). The costs associated with multiple years of unstable employment were often quite substantial. For example, both whites and blacks who had two or more years of unstable employment earned about $9000 less per year at age 29 than those who had never experienced such instability (Table Forty-eight).

Late high school graduation is associated with lower attainment for three adult outcome measures (earnings, and occupational status) for whites, but is never significantly associated with adult attainment for African-American males.[5] Whites who graduated late earned about $4000 less per year (Table Forty-eight), and had occupations of substantially lower status (Table Fifty-one).

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[5]In analyses not shown, late high school graduation was shown to be significantly related to adult educational attainment for both race groups. For whites, those who graduated late averaged 1.3 fewer years of education, and blacks 0.6 fewer years.

TABLE 9
SUMMARY TABLE OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONS BETWEEN EARLY LIFE COURSE OUTCOMES AND MEASURES OF ADULT SOCIOECONOMIC ATTAINMENT

(Summary of Tables 47-52)

	Hourly Wage, Age 29		Yearly Earnings Age 29		Net Family Income 1981 (Ages 29-32)		Net Family Assets 1981 (Ages 29-32)		Occupational Status (SEI) Age 29		Weeks Unemployed 1981 (Ages 29-32)	
	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE	AFRICAN-AMERICAN
Timing of High School Graduation One time Late	0	0	---	0	---	0	0	0	---	0	0	0
Years of Unstable Employment by Age 26 0 Years 1 Year 2 + Years	---	0	---	---	---	0	---	---	---	---	+	+
Early Marriage No Yes	0	0	0	+	0	+	0	0	---	0	0	0
Served in Armed Forces by Age 26 No Yes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	---	0	0	0
Received Occupational Training by Age 26 No Yes	+	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	0

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

+ = Positive relation, .05 level
- = Negative relation, .05 level
0 = No relation, .05 level

The final mis-step measure, early marriage, is negatively associated only with educational and occupational attainment for white males. For African-Americans, it is actually associated with higher levels of earnings and family income at age 29. To some extent these findings may result from the fact that the comparison group is made up both of those who never married by age 29, and those who married but after age 19.

Service in the armed forces is unrelated to any measures of adult attainment for African-American men, and is related only to lower occupational attainment for whites, and there the difference is quite modest (see Table Fifty-one). It may be that the positive aspects (e.g. job training, discipline) and the negative aspects (e.g. time out of the civilian labor force) of military service are canceling each other out.

Finally, occupational training is positively associated with a majority of the adult attainment measures for whites (hourly income, yearly earnings, net family income, and occupational status). Such training was associated with an additional $3000 in yearly earnings (Table Forty-eight), but only a four point increase in the Duncan SEI scale of occupational status (Table Fifty-one). The relation of occupational training to adult occupational attainment for African-Americans is larger at 11 points, but is not significantly associated with any other adult outcomes. It may be that African-American males are receiving qualitatively different (and less remunerative) types of occupational training than those offered to white males. The fact that such training is associated with lower status adult occupations (with Duncan scores of 33 versus 45, see Table Fifty-one) provides some evidence for this interpretation.

For whites, many of the early outcome measures acted in the expected fashion viz. adult socioeconomic attainment. Two of the three mis-steps measures were strongly associated with lower adult attainment. Early marriage was not, but the lack of findings here may have resulted from a failure to compare them separately with those who never married, and those who married after age 19 (a distinction which is made in the multivariate analyses presented in Chapter Two). Finally, occupational training was associated with significantly higher income and occupational attainment.

With the exception of unstable employment, these early outcome measures were considerably less predictive of adult socioeconomic attainment for African-American men. This may indicate that

the measures reflect different things for blacks and whites (as was hypothesized for the occupational training and early marriage measures). Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, it may be that there is simply a weaker connection for black men between events in early adulthood and socioeconomic attainment in later adulthood.

Summary. The findings on the role of these early outcomes, which have labeled mis-steps and middle steps, can be summed as follows. First, with the exception of the measure of delayed graduation from high school, at-risk youth were not appreciably more likely to experience these early outcomes than those not at-risk. This was true for both race groups. Second, with the exception of early marriage these early outcomes were relatively common experiences for all youth regardless of risk status. From these findings we conclude both that these events are commonly part of the life course pathway to adult achievement for at-risk youth, and that they do not form part of the causal pathway mediating the relationship between risk factors and adult socioeconomic attainment.

Third, the relation of these measures to adult attainment varies considerably by measure and across race groups. With the notable exception of the unstable employment measure, early outcome measures were for African-American males only rarely and sporadically related to measures of adult achievement at age 29, and therefore do not appear to be critical components of the pathway to achievement for them. The relationships were considerably more widespread for white men, for whom many measures of later attainment were significantly related to three of the five early outcome measures (delayed graduation, unstable employment, and occupational training).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, extensive descriptive analyses were performed to explore the relationships among the risk, social capital, early life course outcome and adult socioeconomic attainment measures. This was done for two purposes. First, the distribution of these characteristics across the population and particularly across risk groups was explored in order to identify who was exposed to risk, who had access to social capital, who experienced important mis-steps and middle-steps in the early life course, and who succeeded in adulthood. Second, measures operationalizing the first three constructs were related to adult attainment measures in order to evaluate their adequacy as representatives of those constructs.

Regarding the distributional questions, important findings include the following.

- Risk factors in this study include coming from a low income family, having fewer than two parents at age 14, four or more siblings, parent(s) with less than a high school education, and coming from a household whose head held a low status occupation. African-American men of this cohort were considerably more likely to have come from at-risk and multi-risk backgrounds regardless of the risk measure. Thirty-seven percent of African-American males had four or more risks, compared to five percent for white males.

- Measures of social capital available for this study include parental and teacher encouragement to continue education past high school, residential stability, and number of types of reading materials in the home at age 14. At-risk youth had access to a substantial amount of social capital, though it was often somewhat less than that available to those not at-risk. On the other hand, African-American males who were at-risk had access to parental and teacher encouragement equal to those not at-risk. In addition, they had access to more parental encouragement than white at-risk male youth.

- Though at-risk youth had substantially lower levels of socioeconomic attainment as adults, a large proportion were successful. High school graduation rates for at-risk male youth ranged from 72 to 89 percent for whites and 70 to 75 percent for African-

Americans. The proportion of at-risk youth completing one or more years of college ranged from one quarter to one half, and never went below 25 percent. In the area of adult income, however, at-risk white youth were considerably more likely to enjoy high incomes than their black counterparts. Among those from low income families, 24 percent of whites but only 7 percent of blacks earned in the top population quartile at age 29.

At-risk male youth experienced rates of unstable employment and early marriage similar to those not at-risk, but were more likely to experience delayed graduation from high school. In addition, a substantial proportion of at-risk youth experienced unstable employment and delayed high school graduation. Approximately 20 percent of at-risk African-American males and 10 percent of at-risk white males were unstably employed for two or more years by age 26. In addition, and depending on the measure of risk used, between 32 and 43 percent of white and 40 to 52 percent of African-American at-risk male youth graduated late from high school. Thus, mis-steps are common elements of the pathway to adulthood for at-risk youth.

Among risk measures, the low income measure and the additive risk scale were the most consistently associated with lower levels of adult attainment. On the other hand, having fewer than two parents was a relatively weak predicter of adult attainment. Finally, central city residence was never associated with lower attainment in adulthood.

Consistently strong bivariate relationships were found between three of the social capital measures (number of types of reading materials in the home, parental and teacher encouragement to continue education past high school) and the adult attainment measures. This indicates that social capital, as measured here, has the potential to operate as a powerful protective factor, improving the prospects for positive achievment among at-risk youth.

Our measures of early life course mis-steps were strongly related to adult achievement for white males. For African-American males, only unstable employment was consistently related to lower adult socioeconomic attainment.

The bivariate relationships presented here have provided us with good descriptive data that inform us about the life experiences of at-risk male youth as they move into adulthood, and the potential resources they have to draw upon in their struggle to succeed as adults. Further, they offer some interesting clues concerning the relative importance of social capital and risk factors in determining long term success and failure for male youth. In order to shed further light on elements in the causal pathway leading from youth to adult achievement, a multivariate approach is needed. In the next chapter, these relationships are explored further in a multivariate context for three measures of adult socioeconomic achievement: educational and occupational attainment, and yearly earnings.

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TABLE 10
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	< High School	High School	1 + Years College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N	< High School	High School	1 + Years College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N
Total	8%	33%	59%		1081	24%	35%	41%		335
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	7%	32%	60%	13 8	978	23%	32%	45%	12 7	210
< 2 Parents	19%	41%	41%	12 7***	100	27%	42%	31%	12 1*	125
		Chi² =20 6***					Chi²=2 6			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	5%	29%	66%	14 1	738	16%	35%	49%	13 1	119
4+	17%	40%	42%	12 8***	335	30%	35%	35%	12 1***	214
		Chi²=70 0***					Chi²=4 1			
Parent's Education										
High School +	3%	28%	69%	14 3	722	18%	21%	62%	13 5	82
< High School	20%	44%	36%	12 5***	359	27%	40%	33%	12 2***	253
		Chi²=141 8***					Chi²=8 9*			
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14										
Not Low	7%	31%	61%	13 9	840	27%	26%	47%	12 7	119
Low	11%	39%	50%	13 1***	177	25%	38%	38%	12 4	168
		Chi²=7 7*					Chi²=1 8			
Family Poverty Ratio										
150 + Percent	5%	30%	65%	14 0	761	15%	24%	61%	13 3	65
< 150 Percent	21%	41%	39%	12 6***	251	28%	39%	34%	12 2***	265
		Chi²=77 4***					Chi²=7 5*			
Place of Residence										
Outside Central City	8%	34%	58%	13 7	815	27%	41%	31%	12 1	198
Inside Central City	10%	30%	60%	13 8	266	21%	27%	53%	13 0***	137
		Chi²=1 9					Chi²=6 4*			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	7%	33%	60%	13 8	1018	23%	31%	46%	12 8	223
Yes	28%	42%	30%	12 1***	63	29%	45%	27%	11 8***	112
		Chi²=35 9***					Chi²=4 3			
Scale of Risk										
0 Risk	1%	24%	75%	14 6	425	8%	20%	72%	14 0	15
1-3 Risks	13%	39%	49%	13 1***	594	22%	32%	46%	12 8*	175
4 + Risks	28%	47%	25%	12 0***	53	30%	41%	29%	11 9***	144
		Chi²=118 3***					Chi²=6 7			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

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TABLE 11
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

HOURLY WAGE AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Wage	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Wage	Unweighted N
Total	19%	53%	29%		881	38%	48%	15%		322
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	18%	53%	29%	$13 20	791	34%	49%	17%	$10 60	207
< 2 Parents	28%	46%	26%	$12 00	89	45%	46%	10%	$ 9 60†	115
		Chi^2=5 3					Chi^2=1 9			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	17%	53%	30%	$13 40	597	37%	45%	18%	$10 60	104
4+	23%	51%	26%	$12 30*	280	38%	49%	12%	$10 10†	218
		Chi^2=5 1†					Chi^2=0 9			
Parent's Education										
High School +	17%	51%	31%	$13 40	578	29%	49%	22%	$11 20	78
< High School	22%	54%	24%	$12 30*	305	40%	48%	12%	$10 00	244
		Chi^2=6 0*					Chi^2=2 4			
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14										
Not Low	17%	52%	30%	$13 20	702	27%	59%	14%	$10 90	117
Low	22%	50%	28%	$13 10	127	44%	42%	14%	$10 00	166
		Chi^2=1 2					Chi^2=3 7			
Family Poverty Ratio										
150 + Percent	16%	53%	31%	$13 40	613	16%	51%	33%	$12 60	63
< 150 Percent	28%	51%	22%	$12 00**	217	44%	47%	9%	$ 9 60***	253
		Chi^2=17 0***					Chi^2=13 6***			
Place of Residence										
Outside Central City	20%	52%	28%	$12 90	659	43%	49%	8%	$ 9 40	196
Inside Central City	14%	54%	31%	$13 50	224	30%	47%	23%	$11 50***	126
		Chi^2=4 2					Chi^2=6 6*			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	18%	53%	29%	$13 10	825	35%	48%	17%	$10 60	219
Yes	28%	39%	33%	$12 50	58	45%	47%	1%	$9.60	103
		Chi^2=4 8†					Chi^2=2 0			
Scale of Risk										
0 Risk	14%	53%	33%	$13 50	340	20%	48%	32%	$11 70	17
1-3 Risks	21%	52%	27%	$12 90	496	30%	51%	18%	$11 00	162
4 + Risks	24%	53%	23%	$10 70*	40	51%	43%	6%	$ 9 10*	142
		Chi^2=8 6†					Chi^2=9 0†			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 12
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

YEARLY EARNINGS AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Yearly Earnings	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Yearly Earnings	Unweighted N
Total	21%	49%	30%		1143	35%	55%	10%		374
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	20%	49%	31%	$24,500.00	1032	31%	59%	10%	$18,100.00	234
< 2 Parents	28%	48%	24%	$22,500.00	108	43%	47%	9%	$15,000.00*	140
		Chi²=3.9					Chi²=2.2			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	21%	48%	32%	$25,000.00	776	38%	50%	11%	$17,100.00	130
4+	21%	52%	27%	$23,000.00	359	34%	58%	9%	$17,000.00	242
							Chi²=0.8			
Parent's Education										
High School +	22%	46%	32%	$24,900.00	758	35%	55%	10%	$18,400.00	90
< High School	19%	55%	26%	$23,300.00	385	35%	55%	10%	$16,600.00	284
		Chi²=2.4					Chi²=0.0			
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14										
Not Low	20%	0.49	31%	$24,700.00	883	34%	54%	11%	$17,600.00	137
Low	24%	0.5	26%	$22,600.00	194	35%	56%	9%	$17,000.00	187
		Chi²=8.3*					Chi²=0.2			
Family Poverty Ratio										
150 + Percent	20%	0.47	33%	$25,200.00	802	24%	57%	19%	$22,000.00	72
< 150 Percent	23%	0.53	24%	$22,200.00	270	39%	55%	7%	$15,500.00**	296
		Chi²=2.4					Chi²=6.0†			
Place of Residence										
Outside Central City	23%	48%	29%	$23,900.00	867	38%	54%	7%	$16,000.00	223
Inside Central City	14%	51%	35%	$26,000.00*	276	31%	56%	13%	$18,400.00*	151
		Chi²=0.2*					Chi²=1.7			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	21%	48%	30%	$24,300.00	1075	32%	58%	10%	$17,900.00	249
Yes	19%	52%	29%	$24,900.00	68	43%	48%	9%	$15,100.00*	125
		Chi²=0.2					Chi²=1.6			
Scale of Risk										
0 Risk	19%	47%	33%	$26,100.00	445	13%	62%	25%	$24,600.00	18
1-3 Risks	23%	49%	29%	$23,300.00**	629	37%	53%	10%	$17,100.00**	192
4 + Risks	18%	62%	20%	$21,700.00*	60	37%	56%	6%	$15,800.00**	163
		Chi²=7.2					Chi²=4.0			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 13
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

TOTAL NET FAMILY INCOME IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N
Total	19%	52%	29%		981	35%	48%	18%		336
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	18%	53%	29%	$36,500.00	882	31%	51%	19%	$28,300.00	216
< 2 Parents	26%	44%	30%	$34,100.00	96	43%	41%	15%	$25,500.00	120
		Chi^2=4.1					Chi^2=1.9			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	17%	50%	32%	$38,000.00	665	33%	42%	25%	$29,700.00	114
4+	23%	55%	21%	$32,800.00***	309	37%	51%	13%	$26,000.00*	218
		Chi^2=14.0***					Chi^2=3.3			
Parent's Education										
High School +	17%	51%	33%	$38,400.00	647	24%	57%	19%	$29,400.00	80
< High School	24%	54%	22%	$32,200.00***	334	39%	44%	17%	$26,700.00	256
		Chi^2=16.5***					Chi^2=2.5			
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14										
Not Low	18%	52%	30%	$36,900.00	761	29%	54%	17%	$27,800.00	115
Low	24%	52%	25%	$33,500.00†	169	37%	49%	14%	$26,700.00	174
		Chi^2=3.8					Chi^2=0.8			
Family Poverty Ratio										
150 + Percent	17%	51%	32%	$37,900.00	688	18%	55%	26%	$33,400.00	63
< 150 Percent	27%	54%	20%	$31,400.00***	233	40%	45%	15%	$25,700.00***	266
		Chi^2=17.8***					Chi^2=4.8†			
Place of Residence										
Outside Central City	21%	51%	28%	$36,000.00	746	39%	44%	17%	$26,200.00	206
Inside Central City	14%	55%	32%	$37,300.00	235	28%	53%	19%	$29,100.00†	130
		Chi^2=6.5*					Chi^2=1.7			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	19%	52%	29%	$36,300.00	919	32%	49%	19%	$28,200.00	229
Yes	27%	42%	32%	$35,700.00	62	42%	45%	13%	$25,300.00	107
		Chi^2=3.1					Chi^2=1.2			
Scale of Risk										
0 Risk	13%	50%	36%	$40,600.00	376	9%	67%	25%	$32,500.00	18
1-3 Risks	22%	53%	25%	$33,900.00***	547	35%	46%	20%	$27,900.00	171
4 + Risks	34%	50%	16%	$28,700.00***	52	39%	48%	13%	$25,800.00†	145
		Chi^2=27.1***					Chi^2=3.8			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 14
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

NET FAMILY ASSETS IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N
Total	16%	53%	30%		888	27%	66%	7%		311
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	16%	52%	31%	$53,900.00	799	24%	71%	5%	$9,820.00	198
< 2 Parents	20%	62%	19%	$24,500.00†	86	35%	55%	10%	$10,400.00	113
		Chi²=5.9†					Chi²=3.0			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	14%	54%	33%	$56,700.00	598	24%	67%	9%	$29,700.00	102
4+	22%	52%	25%	$41,500.00†	283	31%	64%	6%	$8,100.00	204
		Chi²=12.6***					Chi²=0.7			
Parent's Education										
High School +	15%	53%	32%	$52,100.00	582	23%	67%	10%	$15,100.00	77
< High School	20%	53%	27%	$50,300.00	306	29%	65%	6%	$8,100.00	234
		Chi²=5.2†					Chi²=0.9			
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14										
Not Low	16%	54%	30%	$47,900.00	686	25%	69%	6%	$10,700.00	110
Low	16%	48%	35%	$66,900.00†	153	31%	62%	7%	$9,300.00	157
		Chi²=1.9					Chi²=0.5			
Family Poverty Ratio										
150 + Percent	15%	54%	32%	$56,400.00	619	18%	73%	9%	$16,800.00	58
< 150 Percent	22%	50%	28%	$38,700.00†	219	29%	65%	6%	$8,600.00	246
		Chi²=6.0*					Chi²=1.3			
Place of Residence										
Outside Central City	17%	52%	31%		670	28%	67%	5%	$7,500.00	184
Inside Central City	15%	56%	29%	$51,500.00	218	27%	64%	9%	$13,200.00	127
		Chi²=1.0		$51,700.00			Chi²=1.0			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	16%	53%	31%	$53,300.00	830	25%	69%	6%	$10,500.00	209
Yes	22%	59%	19%	$23,000.00†	58	34%	57%	9%	$8,800.00	102
		Chi²=4.0					Chi=1.6			
Scale of Risk										
0 Risk	12%	55%	33%	$54,600.00	335	35%	58%	8%	$15,800.00	18
1-3 Risks	19%	52%	29%	$50,900.00	496	21%	73%	6%	$12,600.00	156
4 + Risks	21%	51%	28%	$37,000.00	49	36%	57%	7%	$6,900.00	135
		Chi²=7.3					Chi²=3.5			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 15
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION STATUS AND RACE

STATUS OF OCCUPATION AT AGE 29 (DUNCAN SEI)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N
Total	19%	49%	32%		11126	37%	51%	12%		367
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	18%	48%	33%	44	1015	35%	51%	14%	30	231
< 2 Parents	26%	52%	22%	37**	108	42%	50%	8%	27	136
		Chi^2=6.8*					Chi^2=1.5			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	17%	46%	38%	47	767	35%	44%	22%	34	127
4+	24%	55%	21%	37***	351	39%	56%	5%	26***	238
		Chi^2=30.8***					Chi^2=9.4**			
Parent's Education										
High School +	16%	45%	39%	47	746	33%	42%	25%	37	87
< High School	25%	56%	19%	36***	380	39%	54%	8%	26**	280
		Chi^2=42.1***					Chi^2=8.2*			
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14										
Not Low	16%	48%	34%	45	871	33%	49%	19%	34	133
Low	28%	52%	26%	38***	188	39%	53%	8%	26***	185
		Chi^2=25.0***					Chi^2=2.9			
Family Poverty Ratio										
150 + Percent	20%	48%	35%	45	795	17%	58%	25%	38	72
< 150 Percent	15%	50%	21%	37***	263	43%	49%	8%	26***	289
		Chi^2=25.1***					Chi^2=11.8**			
Place of Residence										
Outside Central City	20%	48%	32%	43	853	39%	53%	8%	26	220
Inside Central City	15%	50%	34%	44	273	35%	48%	17%	33**	147
		Chi^2=3.2					Chi^2=2.7			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	19%	48%	33%	44	1058	35%	51%	14%	30	244
Yes	26%	56%	18%	34**	68	43%	49%	8%	26t	123
		Chi^2=7.0*					Chi^2=1.6			
Scale of Risk										
0 Risk	13%	44%	43%	50	441	16%	38%	46%	49	18
1-3 Risks	23%	52%	25%	39***	617	35%	52%	14%	31***	187
4 + Risks	36%	49%	15%	31***	59	44%	51%	5%	24***	161
		Chi^2=56.8***					Chi^2=12.9*			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 16
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

WEEKS UNEMPLOYED IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	< 5 Weeks	5+ Weeks	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N	< 5 Weeks	5+ Weeks	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N
Total	90%	10%		927	82%	18%		321
Family Structure at Age 14								
2 Parents	0 90	0 10	1 9	830	0 82	0 18	5 1	204
< 2 Parents	0 90	0 10	1 8	95	0 83	0 17	3 3	117
	Chi²=0 0				Chi²=0 0			
Number of Siblings								
0-3	0 91	0 09	1 7	626	0 86	0 14	4 3	111
4+	0 88	0 12	2 3	294	0 83	0 17	4 3	207
	Chi²=2 5				Chi²=0 2			
Parent's Education								
High School +	0 9	0 1	2 0	602	0 87	0 13	3 8	75
< High School	0 9	0 1	1 5	325	0 81	0 19	4 8	246
	Chi²=0 0				Chi²=0 7			
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14								
Not Low	0 90	0 10	1 9	708	0 79	0 21	6 9	113
Low	0 92	0 08	1 1	167	0 85	0 15	3 2**	166
	Chi²=0 3				Chi²=0 5			
Family Poverty Ratio								
150 + Percent	0 92	0 08	1 6	642	0 91	0 09	2 2	59
< 150 Percent	0 88	0 12	1 9	222	0 80	0 20	5 2[illegible]	257
	Chi²=3 2				Chi²=1 5			
Place of Residence								
Outside Central City	0 90	0 10	2 0	710	0 85	0 15	3 2	192
Inside Central City	0 92	0 08	1 3	217	0 79	0 21	6 3*	129
	Chi²=1 4				Chi²=0 8			
Single Parent with < High School Education								
No	0 90	0 10	1 9	865	0 83	0 17	4 9	217
Yes	0 91	0 09	1 4	62	0 81	0 19	3 6*	104
	Chi²=0 1				Chi²=0 0			
Scale of Risk								
0 Risk	0 91	0 09	1 9	358	0 83	0 17	0 1	17
1-3 Risks	0 90	0 10	1 8	510	0 77	0 23	6 2*	162
4 + Risks	0 90	0 10	1 9	53	0 87	0 13	3 0	142
	Chi²=0 4				Chi²=3 7			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 17
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY AGE 35

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	< High School	High School	1 + Years College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N	< High School	High School	1 + Years College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N
Total	12%	31%	57%		1278	36%	34%	30%		326
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	11%	30%	59%	14.0	1148	33%	35%	32%	12.0	204
< 2 Parents	26%	33%	41%	12.5***	128	31%	28%	28%	11.6	120
		Chi^2=43.9***					Chi^2=1.2			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	9%	27%	64%	14.3	929	26%	31%	43%	12.8	139
4+	23%	39%	38%	12.7***	337	45%	35%	20%	11.0***	185
		Chi^2=101.4***					Chi^2=12.9**			
Parent's Education										
High School +	5%	23%	72%	14.8	747	12%	21%	67%	14.3	60
< High School	23%	42%	35%	12.5***	531	42%	37%	21%	11.2***	266
		Chi^2=263.8***					Chi^2=31.5***			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	10%	30%	60%	14.0	1192	31%	33%	36%	12.3	218
Yes	39%	39%	22%	11.3***	86	47%	34%	19%	11.0***	108
		Chi^2=109.4***					Chi^2=6.6*			

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent			Mean Years		Percent		1 + Years	Mean Years	
RISK STATUS	< High School	High School	1 + Years College	Completed	Unweighted N	< High School	High School	College	Completed	Unweighted N
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	7%	32%	60%	13.8	978	23%	32%	45%	12.7	210
< 2 Parents	19%	41%	41%	12.7***	100	27%	42%	31%	12.1*	125
		Chi^2 =20.6***					Chi^2=2.6			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	5%	29%	66%	14.1	738	16%	35%	49%	13.1	119
4+	17%	40%	42%	12.8***	335	30%	35%	35%	12.1***	214
		Chi^2=70.0***					Chi^2=4.1			
Parent's Education										
High School +	3%	28%	69%	14.3	722	18%	21%	62%	13.5	82
< High School	20%	44%	36%	12.5***	359	27%	40%	33%	12.2***	253
		Chi^2=141.8***					Chi^2=8.9*			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	7%	33%	60%	13.8	1018	23%	31%	46%	12.8	223
Yes	28%	42%	30%	12.1***	63	29%	45%	27%	11.8***	112
		Chi^2=35.9***					Chi^2=4.3			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 18
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG AT-RISK MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

HOURLY WAGE AT AGE 35

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Wage	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Wage	Unweighted N
Total	16%	53%	32%		1008	48%	41%	11%		284
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	16%	51%	33%	$16.40	899	44%	47%	9%	$11.10	177
< 2 Parents	22%	55%	23%	$14.30***	108	54%	32%	14%	$10.80	106
		Chi²=8.3*					Chi²=4.0			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	16%	48%	36%	$16.60	730	36%	52%	11%	$12.10	126
4+	18%	62%	20%	$14.80***	269	60%	31%	9%	$9.70***	156
		Chi²=30.4***					Chi²=8.4*			
Parent's Education										
High School +	12%	49%	39%	$17.30	567	28%	48%	24%	$14.30	55
< High School	22%	56%	22%	$14.50***	441	54%	39%	8%	$10.20***	229
		Chi²=49.8***					Chi²=10.9**			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	15%	51%	33%	$16.40	936	44%	44%	13%	$11.40	190
Yes	27%	57%	16%	$12.80***	72	57%	35%	8%	$10.10*	94
		Chi²=17.6***					Chi²=2.6			

HOURLY WAGE AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent			Mean Hourly		Percent			Mean Hourly	
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Wage	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Wage	Unweighted N
Total	19%	53%	29%		881	38%	48%	15%		322
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	18%	53%	29%	$13.20	791	34%	49%	17%	$10.60	207
< 2 Parents	28%	46%	26%	$12.00	89	45%	46%	10%	$ 9.60t	115
		Chi²=5.3					Chi²=1.9			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	17%	53%	30%	$13.40	597	37%	45%	18%	$10.60	104
4+	23%	51%	26%	$12.30*	280	38%	49%	12%	$10.10t	216
		Chi²=5.1t					Chi²=0.9			
Parent's Education										
High School +	17%	51%	31%	$13.40	578	29%	49%	22%	$11.20	78
< High School	22%	54%	24%	$12.30*	305	40%	48%	12%	$10.00	244
		Chi²=6.0*					Chi²=2.4			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	18%	53%	29%	$13.10	825	35%	48%	17%	$10.60	219
Yes	28%	39%	33%	$12.50	58	45%	47%	1%	$9.60	103
		Chi²=4.8t					Chi²=2.0			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 19
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

YEARLY EARNINGS AT AGE 35

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Yearly Earnings	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Yearly Earnings	Unweighted N
Total	17%	51%	32%		1314	47%	47%	6%		348
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	17%	51%	32%	$35,000 00	1183	46%	49%	4%	$17,800 00	215
< 2 Parents	22%	54%	24%	$29,700 00**	129	48%	43%	9%	$20,300 00	131
		Chi²=6 6*					Chi²=1 9			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	16%	49%	35%	$36,000 00	954	39%	51%	10%	$21,100 00	149
4+	20%	59%	22%	$29,800 00***	348	55%	42%	3%	$16,700 00**	197
		Chi²=27 6***					Chi²=7 1*			
Parent's Education										
High School +	13%	50%	37%	$37,200 00	767	30%	53%	17%	$25,700 00	64
< High School	23%	53%	24%	$30,300 00***	547	52%	45%	3%	$17,000 00***	284
		Chi²=45 0***					Chi²=13 7***			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	16%	51%	33%	$35,100 00	1228	44%	49%	7%	$19,500 00	232
Yes	30%	54%	16%	$25,800 00***	86	53%	43%	4%	$17,700 00	116
		Chi²=22 0***					Chi²=1 8			

YEARLY EARNINGS AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Yearly Earnings	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Yearly Earnings	Unweighted N
Total	21%	49%	30%		1143	35%	55%	10%		374
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	20	49	31	$24,500 00	1032	31	59	10	$18,100 00	234
< 2 Parents	28	48	24	$22,500 00	108	43	47	9	$15,000 00*	140
		Chi²=3 9					Chi²=2 2			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	21	48	32	$25,000 00	776	38	50	11	$17,100 00	130
4+	21	52	27	$23,000 00	359	34	58	9	$17,000 00	242
							Chi²=0 8			
Parent's Education										
High School +	22	46	32	$24,900 00	758	35	55	10	$18,400 00	90
< High School	19	55	26	$23,300 00	385	35	55	10	$16,600 00	284
		Chi²=2 4					Chi²=0 0			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	21	48	30	$24,300 00	1075	32	58	10	$17,900 00	249
Yes	19	52	29	$24,900 00	68	43	48	9	$15,100 00*	125
		Chi²=0 2					Chi²=1 6			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 20
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

TOTAL NET FAMILY INCOME IN 1981 (AGES 34-39)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N
Total	17%	54%	29%		1152	42%	43%	14%		305
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	16%	54%	30%	$46,300.00	1037	40%	48%	13%	$32,500.00	196
< 2 Parents	25%	54%	21%	$40,400.00**	114	47%	36%	17%	$31,800.00	108
		Chi²=12.5**					Chi²=2.4			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	14%	53%	32%	$48,000.00	833	35%	41%	24%	$37,400.00	132
4+	24%	56%	20%	$39,200.00***	308	51%	44%	6%	$27,300.00***	172
		Chi²=34.3***					Chi²=11.5**			
Parent's Education										
High School +	13%	54%	33%	$48,600.00	674	24%	41%	35%	$44,200.00	55
< High School	24%	53%	23%	$41,200.00***	478	47%	44%	9%	$29,300.00***	250
		Chi²=40.5***					Chi²=15.1***			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	16%	54%	30%	$46,100.00	1076	38%	45%	17%	$34,300.00	208
Yes	31%	48%	22%	$39,100.00**	76	51%	39%	10%	$28,100.00*	97
		Chi²=15.6***					Chi²=2.7			

TOTAL NET FAMILY INCOME IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N
Total	19%	52%	29%		981	35%	48%	18%		336
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	18%	53%	29%	$36,500.00	882	31%	51%	19%	$28,300.00	216
< 2 Parents	26%	44%	30%	$34,100.00	96	43%	41%	15%	$25,500.00	120
		Chi²=4.1					Chi²=1.9			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	17%	50%	32%	$38,000.00	665	33%	42%	25%	$29,700.00	114
4+	23%	55%	21%	$32,800.00***	309	37%	51%	13%	$26,000.00*	218
		Chi²=14.0***					Chi²=3.3			
Parent's Education										
High School +	17%	51%	33%	$38,400.00	647	24%	57%	19%	$29,400.00	80
< High School	24%	54%	22%	$32,200.00***	334	39%	44%	17%	$26,700.00	256
		Chi²=16.5***					Chi²=2.5			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	19%	52%	29%	$36,300.00	919	32%	49%	19%	$28,200.00	229
Yes	27%	42%	32%	$35,700.00	62	42%	45%	13%	$25,300.00	107
		Chi²=3.1					Chi²=1.2			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 21
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

NET FAMILY ASSETS IN 1981 (AGES 34-39)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N
Total	15%	53%	31%		989	55%	40%	6%		258
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	15%	53%	32%	$131,000.00	894	58%	37%	5%	$26,600.00	163
< 2 Parents	18%	58%	25%	$86,100.00*	94	49%	44%	7%	$29,700.00	94
		Chi²=3.5					Chi²=1.1			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	14%	51%	35%	$142,300.00	719	54%	39%	7%	$29,900.00	107
4+	19%	59%	21%	$82,400.00***	260	56%	39%	5%	$26,000.00	150
		Chi²=24.1***					Chi²=0.3			
Parent's Education										
High School +	13%	51%	37%	$152,400.00	585	40%	47%	13%	$55,200.00	49
< High School	19%	57%	24%	$86,700.00***	404	58%	38%	4%	$20,400.00***	209
		Chi²=29.0***					Chi²=5.1†			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	15%	53%	32%	$129,300.00	929	56%	37%	7%	$31,700.00	175
Yes	21%	56%	23%	$83,300.00†	60	52%	44%	4%	$20,100.00	83
		Chi²=4.5					Chi²=1.0			

NET FAMILY ASSETS IN 1981 (AGES 25-32)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N
Total	16%	53%	30%		888	27%	66%	7%		311
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	16%	52%	31%	$53,900.00	799	24%	71%	5%	$9,820.00	198
< 2 Parents	20%	62%	19%	$24,500.00†	86	35%	55%	10%	$10,400.00	113
		Chi²=5.9†					Chi²=3.0			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	14%	54%	33%	$56,700.00	598	24%	67%	9%	$29,700.00	102
4+	22%	52%	25%	$41,500.00†	283	31%	64%	6%	$8,100.00	204
		Chi²=12.6***					Chi²=0.7			
Parent's Education										
High School +	15%	53%	32%	$52,100.00	582	23%	67%	10%	$15,100.00	77
< High School	20%	53%	27%	$50,300.00	306	29%	65%	6%	$8,100.00	234
		Chi²=5.2†					Chi²=0.9			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	16%	53%	31%	$53,300.00	830	25%	69%	6%	$10,500.00	209
Yes	22%	59%	19%	$23,000.00†	58	34%	57%	9%	$8,800.00	102
		Chi²=4.0					Chi=1.6			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 22
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

STATUS OF OCCUPATION AT AGE 35 (DUNCAN SEI)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N
Total	14%	56%	30%		1299	42%	49%	10%		339
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	14%	55%	31%	50	1170	39%	51%	10%	31	212
< 2 Parents	13%	65%	21%	45*	127	45%	46%	10%	29	125
		Chi^2=6.8*					60%			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	11%	56%	33%	53	941	34%	51%	15%	35	147
4+	10%	53%	37%	41***	347	47%	48%	5%	26***	190
		Chi^2=53.6***					Chi^2=5.9*			
Parent's Education										
High School +	10%	53%	37%	56	759	26%	48%	26%	45	64
< High School	21%	60%	19%	41***	540	46%	49%	5%	26***	275
		Chi^2=92.1***					Chi^2=17.9***			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	14%	55%	31%	51	1214	39%	49%	12%	33	229
Yes	18%	73%	9%	37***	85	38%	47%	4%	25***	110
		Chi^2=26.5***					Chi^2=3.7			

STATUS OF OCCUPATOIN AT AGE 35 (DUNCAN SEI)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
RISK STATUS	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N
Total	19%	49%	32%		11126	37%	51%	12%		367
Family Structure at Age 14										
2 Parents	18%	48%	33%	44	1015	35%	51%	14%	30	231
< 2 Parents	26%	52%	22%	37**	108	42%	50%	8%	27	136
		Chi^2=6.8*					Chi^2=1.5			
Number of Siblings										
0-3	17%	46%	38%	47	767	35%	44%	22%	34	127
4+	24%	55%	21%	37***	351	39%	56%	5%	26***	238
		Chi^2=30.8***					Chi^2=9.4**			
Parent's Education										
High School +	16%	45%	39%	47	746	33%	42%	25%	37	87
< High School	25%	56%	19%	36***	380	39%	54%	8%	26**	280
		Chi^2=42.1***					Chi^2=8.2*			
Single Parent with < High School Education										
No	19%	48%	33%	44	1058	35%	51%	14%	30	244
Yes	26%	56%	18%	34**	68	43%	49%	8%	26I	123
		Chi^2=7.0*					Chi^2=1.6			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 23
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG AT-RISK MALE YOUTH: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

WEEKS UNEMPLOYED IN 1981 (AGES 34-39)

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	< 5 Weeks	5+ Weeks	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N	< 5 Weeks	5+ Weeks	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N
Total	93%	7%		1151	87%	13%		295
						Chi²=0 0		
Family Structure at Age 14								
2 Parents	93%	7%	1 5	1032	88%	12%	3 4	186
< 2 Parents	92%	8%	1 2	118	87%	13%	2 7	108
		Chi²=0 1				Chi²=1 3		
Number of Siblings								
0-3	93%	7%	1 4	836	84%	16%	4 1	125
4+	92%	8%	1 4	303	90%	10%	2 4	168
		Chi²=0 9				Chi²=1 9		
Parent's Education								
High School +	94%	6%	1 0	683	80%	20%	5 8	58
< High School	91%	9%	2 2**	468	89%	11%	2 3*	237
		Chi²=8 3**				Chi²=0 0		
Single Parent with < High School Education								
No	93%	7%	1 4	1075	87%	13%	3 6	200
Yes	90%	10%	1 7	76	87%	13%	2 2	95
		Chi²=2 0				Chi²=0 0		

WEEKS UNEMPLOED IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	< 5 Weeks	5+ Weeks	Unemployed	Unweighted N	< 5 Weeks	5+ Weeks	Unemployed	Unweighted N
Total	90%	10%		927	82%	18%		321
Family Structure at Age 14								
2 Parents	90%	10%	190%	830	82%	18%	510%	204
< 2 Parents	90%	10%	180%	95	83%	17%	330%	117
		Chi²=0 0				Chi²=0 0		
Number of Siblings								
0-3	91%	9%	170%	626	86%	14%	430%	111
4+	88%	12%	230%	294	83%	17%	430%	207
		Chi²=2 5				Chi²=0 2		
Parent's Education								
High School +	90%	10%	200%	602	87%	13%	380%	75
< High School	90%	10%	150%	325	81%	19%	480%	246
		Chi²=0 0				Chi²=0 7		
Single Parent with < High School Education								
No	90%	10%	190%	865	83%	17%	490%	217
Yes	91%	9%	140%	62	81%	19%	3 6*	104
		Chi²=0 1				Chi²=0 0		

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 24
WHO HAS ACCESS TO SOCIAL CAPITAL?: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

NUMBER OF TYPES OF READING MATERIALS AVAILABLE IN THE HOME AT AGE 14:

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	**0-1 Materials**	**2 Materials**	**3 Materials**	**Unweighted N**	**0-1 Materials**	**2 Materials**	**3 Materials**	**Unweighted N**
Total	10%	25%	65%	1530	44%	28%	28%	708
Family Structure at Age 14								
2 Parents	9%	24%	67%	1371	41%	25%	34%	421
< 2 Parents	22%	34%	44%	156	50%	33%	18%	287
		Chi^2=42.3***				Chi^2=8.1*		
Number of Siblings								
0-3	6%	23%	70%	1036	38%	26%	37%	237
4+	20%	28%	52%	474	49%	28%	23%	463
		Chi^2=86.5***				Chi^2=6.0*		
Parent's Education								
High School +	3%	20%	76%	999	16%	30%	54%	176
< High School	25%	34%	40%	531	54%	27%	19%	532
		Chi^2=280.3***				Chi^2=38.5***		
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14								
Not Low	7%	24%	69%	1173	31%	31%	38%	274
Low	22%	29%	49%	253	51%	26%	23%	323
		Chi^2=70.3***				Chi^2=10.1**		
Family Poverty Ratio								
150 + Percent	6%	24%	71%	1076	18%	27%	56%	146
< 150 Percent	26%	31%	43%	355	55%	26%	19%	531
		Chi^2=151.5***				Chi^2=35.8***		
Place of Residence								
Outside Central City	10%	25%	65%	1142	63%	22%	15%	383
Inside Central City	12%	25%	63%	388	24%	34%	42%	325
		Chi^2=1.9				Chi^2=42.6***		
Single Parent with < High School Education								
No	9%	24%	67%	1429	41%	25%	34%	457
Yes	29%	38%	33%	101	52%	33%	15%	251
		Chi^2=61.3***				Chi^2=9.9**		
Scale of Risk								
0 Risk	2%	18%	79%	599	4%	21%	75%	15
1-3 Risks	15%	29%	56%	841	37%	28%	35%	175
4 + Risks	40%	33%	27%	80	62%	27%	11%	175
		Chi^2=206.2***				Chi^2=35.6***		

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

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TABLE 25
WHO HAS ACCESS TO SOCIAL CAPITAL?: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO CONTINUE EDUCATION PAST HIGH SCHOOL

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	Much Encouragement	Some Encouragement	No Encouragement	Unweighted N	Much Encouragement	Some Encouragement	No Encouragement	Unweighted N
Total	63%	24%	13%	1181	60%	25%	15%	380
Family Structure at Age 14								
2 Parents	64%	23%	13%	1120	62%	25%	12%	287
< 2 Parents	44%	35%	21%	58	54%	21%	25%	93
		Chi^2=11.3**				Chi^2=2.9		
Number of Siblings								
0-3	68%	22%	10%	823	59%	22%	19%	130
4+	49%	28%	23%	344	62%	26%	12%	246
		Chi^2=54.0***				Chi^2=1.2		
Parent's Education								
High School +	69%	21%	9%	817	69%	18%	13%	101
< High School	48%	29%	23%	364	57%	27%	16%	279
		Chi^2=64.0***				Chi^2=1.8		
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14								
Not Low	66%	23%	11%	933	60%	29%	11%	146
Low	50%	27%	23%	191	61%	25%	14%	188
		Chi^2=27.6***				Chi^2=0.5		
Family Poverty Ratio								
150 + Percent	66%	23%	11%	866	65%	28%	8%	95
< 150 Percent	51%	28%	20%	250	56%	24%	19%	270
		Chi^2=23.7***				Chi^2=3.0		
Place of Residence								
Outside Central City	63%	24%	13%	889	55%	27%	19%	212
Inside Central City	63%	23%	14%	292	68%	22%	10%	168
		Chi^2=0.2				Chi^2=3.0		
Single Parent with < High School Education								
No	64%	23%	13%	1150	62%	25%	14%	294
Yes	40%	39%	21%	31	55%	24%	21%	86
		Chi^2=8.1*				Chi^2=1.1		
Scale of Risk								
0 Risk	76%	18%	6%	505	85%	9%	6%	24
1-3 Risks	53%	28%	19%	622	60%	25%	15%	220
4 + Risks	43%	30%	28%	47	56%	27%	18%	134
		Chi^2=91.7***				Chi^2=3.0		

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 26
WHO HAS ACCESS TO SOCIAL CAPITAL?: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

TEACHER ENCOURAGEMENT TO CONTINUE EDUCATION PAST HIGH SCHOOL

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	Much Encouragement	Some Encouragement	No Encouragement	Unweighted N	Much Encouragement	Some Encouragement	No Encouragement	Unweighted N
Total	43%	34%	23%	1355	41%	37%	22%	566
Family Structure at Age 14								
2 Parents	44%	34%	22%	1222	43%	36%	20%	337
< 2 Parents	32%	40%	28%	129	38%	38%	24%	229
		Chi^2=7.2*				Chi^2=0.7		
Number of Siblings								
0-3	45%	36%	20%	928	44%	35%	21%	190
4+	37%	33%	30%	410	40%	38%	22%	369
		Chi^2=21.7***				Chi^2=0.9		
Parent's Education								
High School +	46%	35%	19%	897	55%	27%	17%	132
< High School	36%	33%	31%	458	37%	40%	23%	434
		Chi^2=26.1***				Chi^2=5.3†		
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14								
Not Low	45%	34%	21%	1048	35%	46%	19%	206
Low	39%	35%	26%	218	46%	33%	21%	273
		Chi^2=3.5				Chi^2=0.2		
Family Poverty Ratio								
150 + Percent	45%	34%	21%	961	48%	36%	17%	115
< 150 Percent	38%	36%	27%	311	38%	38%	24%	432
		Chi^2=6.9*				Chi^2=0.4		
Place of Residence								
Outside Central City	43%	36%	22%	1019	40%	39%	21%	321
Inside Central City	43%	31%	26%	336	43%	35%	22%	245
		Chi^2=4.1				Chi^2=0.3		
Single Parent with < High School Education								
No	43%	34%	22%	1275	44%	35%	21%	363
Yes	32%	36%	32%	80	35%	41%	24%	203
		Chi^2=5.4†				Chi^2=1.8		
Scale of Risk								
0 Risk	49%	34%	17%	541	52%	36%	12%	25
1-3 Risks	39%	35%	25%	737	42%	36%	22%	296
4 + Risks	32%	27%	41%	66	38%	40%	23%	241
		Chi^2=31.9***				Chi^2=0.8		

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 27
WHO HAS ACCESS TO SOCIAL CAPITAL?: VARIATION BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

RESIDENTIAL STABILITY WHILE GROWING UP: YEARS LIVED IN SAME COUNTY

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	< 1 Year	1+YEARS	Entire Life	Unweighted N	< 1 Year	1+YEARS	Entire Life	Unweighted N
Total	5%	42%	53%	1515	2%	28%	70%	706
Family Structure at Age 14								
2 Parents	4%	42%	54%	1357	2%	27%	71%	421
< 2 Parents	10%	48%	43%	156	3%	29%	68%	285
		Chi^2=16.2***				Chi^2=0.2		
Number of Siblings								
0-3	5%	42%	54%	1024	2%	29%	69%	237
4+	4%	44%	52%	472	3%	27%	70%	461
		Chi^2=1.0				Chi^2=0.9		
Parent's Education								
High School +	5%	43%	52%	990	2%	22%	76%	175
< High School	5%	40%	56%	525	2%	30%	68%	531
		Chi^2=0.4				Chi^2=0.5		
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14								
Not Low	4%	45%	51%	1162	3%	32%	65%	274
Low	3%	31%	66%	250	2%	25%	73%	322
		Chi^2=20.0***				Chi^2=1.6		
Family Poverty Ratio								
150 + Percent	5%	42%	53%	1064	2%	34%	63%	145
< 150 Percent	6%	44%	50%	353	3%	24%	73%	530
		Chi^2=1.5				Chi^2=2.2		
Place of Residence								
Outside Central City	5%	43%	52%	1134	2%	27%	71%	382
Inside Central City	4%	39%	56%	381	3%	28%	69%	324
		Chi^2=2.6				Chi^2=0.5		
Single Parent with < High School Education								
No	4%	42%	54%	1414	2%	27%	71%	456
Yes	7%	48%	45%	101	3%	30%	67%	250
		Chi^2=4.1				Chi^2=0.4		
Scale of Risk								
0 Risk	4%	45%	52%	591	5%	48%	47%	36
1-3 Risks	6%	40%	54%	836	2%	27%	71%	375
4 + Risks	2%	45%	53%	79	3%	25%	73%	288
		Chi^2=7.4				Chi^2=4.0		

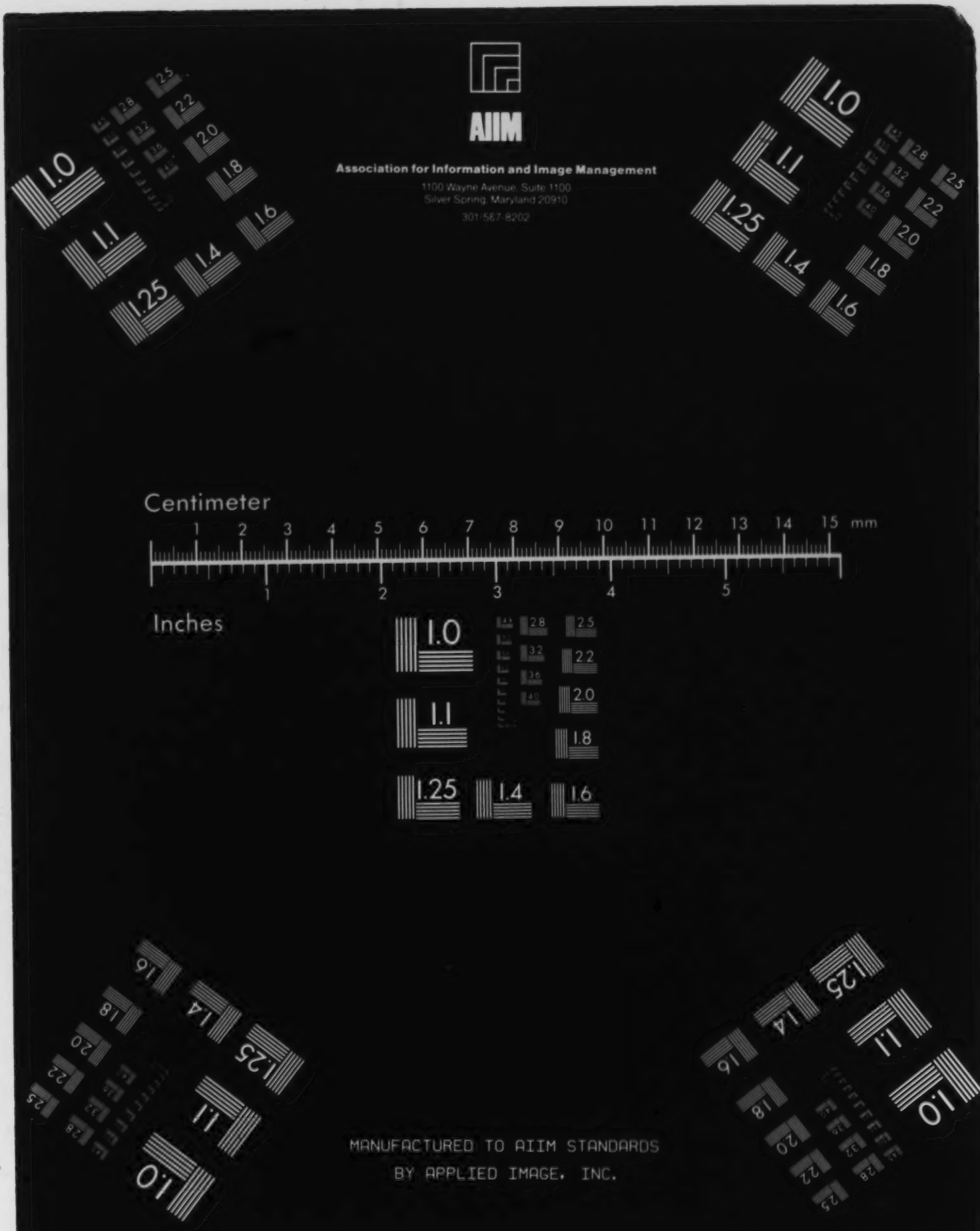
Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 28
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	< High School	High School	1 + Year College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N	< High School	High School	1 + Year College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N
Total	8%	33%	59%		1081	24%	35%	41%		335
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	37%	34%	29%	11.6	110	31%	37%	32%	12.0	186
2	13%	42%	45%	12.9***	258	21%	39%	40%	12.8**	84
3	3%	30%	67%	14.3***	710	15%	28%	57%	13.3***	64
		Chi^2=174.8***					Chi^2=6.9			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	5%	23%	72%	14.4***	585	16%	28%	57%	13.4***	139
Some	6%	42%	52%	13.4***	224	30%	41%	28%	11.9	52
None	19%	54%	27%	12.1	118	31%	59%	10%	11.7	33
		Chi^2=103.9***					Chi^2=13.6**			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	4%	26%	70%	14.3***	457	14%	30%	56%	13.4***	133
Some	8%	35%	56%	13.6***	367	17%	42%	40%	12.6***	118
None	17%	41%	41%	12.7	232	60%	34%	6%	11.0	66
		Chi^2=68.3***					Chi^2=30.2***			
Residential Stability While Growing										
< 1 Year	6%	28%	66%	13.7	38	42%	17%	41%	12.1	10
1 + Years	10%	29%	61%	13.8	421	29%	31%	40%	12.5	69
Entire Life	8%	35%	57%	13.6	609	23%	37%	40%	12.5	253
		Chi^2=5.2					Chi^2=1.4			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC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MANUFACTURED TO AIIM STANDARDS
BY APPLIED IMAGE, INC.

TABLE 29
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

HOURLY WAGE AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Wage	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Wage	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	23%	57%	20%	$11.20	102	42%	49%	9%	$ 9.40	174
2	19%	51%	30%	$13.40*	204	36%	50%	14%	$10.30	81
3	18%	52%	30%	$13.30*	574	29%	44%	26%	$12.00	66
		Chi²=5.2					Chi²=5.8			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	17%	54%	29%	$13.30*	463	32%	49%	19%	$11.00	130
Some	18%	50%	32%	$13.50*	188	29%	64%	7%	$ 9.60	53
None	24%	51%	25%	$11.40	90	53%	33%	14%	$ 9.70	29
		Chi²=3.9					Chi²=5.1			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	19%	52%	29%	$13.30*	370	41%	39%	20%	$10.50	127
Some	16%	51%	33%	$13.50*	300	26%	64%	10%	$10.80*	116
None	17%	55%	28%	$12.50	182	49%	41%	10%	$ 9.20	60
		Chi²=2.7					Chi²=8.4t			
Residential Stability While Growing										
< 1 Year	15%	53%	32%	$13.00	31	52%	28%	20%	$10.00	9
1 + Years	23%	49%	28%	$12.40	359	34%	50%	16%	$10.60	67
Entire Life	16%	55%	29%	$13.40	483	38%	48%	14%	$10.20	244
		Chi²=5.8					Chi²=0.7			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 30
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

YEARLY EARNINGS AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Earnings	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Earnings	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	25%	56%	19%	$21,200.00	119	36%	56%	8%	$16,200.00	203
2	21%	48%	31%	$24,500.00	277	36%	56%	8%	$16,600.00	93
3	20%	48%	31%	$24,700.00†	744	34%	52%	14%	$19,300.00*	76
		Chi^2=7.4					Chi^2=1.2			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	19%	46%	34%	$25,600.00***	615	29%	63%	8%	$18,200.00**	151
Some	23%	49%	28%	$22,900.00†	231	30%	63%	7%	$17,400.00†	57
None	27%	48%	25%	$20,300.00	123	50%	42%	8%	$13,800.00	34
		Chi^2=8.3†					Chi^2=2.8			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	18%	48%	34%	$25,700.00*	479	31%	55%	13%	$18,400.00***	148
Some	22%	46%	32%	$24,000.00	382	29%	62%	9%	$17,500.00*	129
None	21%	53%	26%	$22,800.00	243	49%	48%	3%	$14,200.00	72
		Chi^2=6.4					Chi^2=5.0			
Residential Stability While Growing										
< 1 Year	15%	48%	38%	$26,000.00	40	29%	50%	21%	$19,000.00	10
1 + Years	24%	49%	27%	$23,400.00†	447	36%	50%	14%	$18,200.00	77
Entire Life	20%	49%	32%	$24,800.00	642	35%	57%	8%	$16,700.00	284
		Chi^2=6.0					Chi^2=1.7			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 31
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

TOTAL NET FAMILY INCOME IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE					AFRICAN AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N
Total										
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	29%	55%	16%	$30,500.00	103	46%	39%	14%	$25,100.00	180
2	19%	54%	27%	$36,200.00†	244	32%	52%	17%	$27,500.00	81
3	18%	51%	31%	$37,200.00**	631	17%	59%	24%	$31,400.00**	73
		Chi²=13.0*					Chi²=8.7†			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	16%	50%	34%	$38,800.00***	530	31%	48%	21%	$28,600.00	141
Some	20%	55%	25%	$33,700.00†	198	19%	67%	13%	$27,700.00	53
None	33%	49%	18%	$29,900.00	104	42%	43%	16%	$25,400.00	28
		Chi²=23.8***					Chi²=3.4			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	17%	50%	33%	$38,900.00***	416	35%	37%	28%	$30,600.00**	139
Some	20%	54%	26%	$35,400.00	326	31%	59%	10%	$25,700.00	114
None	23%	49%	28%	$33,200.00	206	35%	53%	12%	$24,500.00	59
		Chi²=8.2†					Chi²=7.4			
Residential Stability While Growing										
< 1 Year	10%	65%	25%	$35,800.00	30	32%	68%	0%	$21,300.00	6
1 + Years	20%	50%	30%	$37,000.00	385	33%	49%	18%	$27,500.00	71
Entire Life	19%	53%	28%	$35,600.00	553	35%	47%	18%	$27,500.00	256
		Chi²=3.8					Chi²=.06			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 32
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

NET FAMILY ASSETS IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N
Total										
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	28%	59%	13%	$18,200.00	90	30%	65%	6%	$17,700.00	159
2	14%	56%	31%	$63,900.00**	213	32%	58%	10%	$13,800.00	82
3	16%	52%	33%	$52,200.00*	582	19%	76%	5%	$10,000.00	68
		Chi²=20.0***					Chi²=2.7			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	12%	52%	35%	$65,500.00**	476	27%	65%	8%	$12,100.00t	128
Some	21%	50%	30%	$39,900.00	177	24%	73%	3%	$10,400.00	49
None	20%	61%	19%	$28,800.00	98	28%	72%	0%	$ 4,200.00	29
		Chi²=15.9**					Chi²=1.7			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	16%	51%	33%	$58,600.00	372	23%	65%	12%	$15,500.00*	128
Some	18%	54%	29%	$48,200.00	296	33%	62%	5%	$ 8,100.00	106
None	15%	56%	29%	$47,800.00	190	27%	71%	2%	$ 3,900.00	55
		Chi²=2.3					Chi²=3.9			
Residential Stability While Growing										
< 1 Year	17%	48%	36%	$76,900.00	28	27%	55%	18%	$ 9,800.00	6
1 + Years	19%	57%	24%	$39,900.00*	354	36%	57%	7%	$11,600.00	60
Entire Life	14%	51%	34%	$56,700.00	494	25%	69%	6%	$ 9,500.00	242
		Chi²=12.2*					Chi²=1.8			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 33
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AT AG AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	27%	53%	20%	33	116	44%	52%	4%	23	198
2	28%	53%	20%	36	269	32%	50%	18%	34***	92
3	15%	47%	38%	47***	738	29%	49%	21%	35***	75
		Chi^2=48.3***					Chi^2=9.2t			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	15%	44%	40%	48***	608	29%	53%	18%	33***	149
Some	18%	51%	30%	42***	229	40%	57%	3%	24	57
None	34%	51%	15%	31	120	55%	38%	7%	23	34
		Chi^2=41.3***					Chi^2=7.3			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	14%	46%	40%	49***	473	31%	49%	20%	34***	143
Some	21%	50%	29%	42*	378	34%	56%	10%	28*	127
None	25%	49%	26%	38	238	54%	43%	2%	21	72
		Chi^2=22.9***					Chi^2=8.9t			
Residential Stability While Growing										
< 1 Year	15%	34%	50%	51	39	42%	58%	0%	22	9
1 + Years	19%	49%	32%	44t	440	41%	41%	17%	29	76
Entire Life	20%	49%	31%	42*	633	36%	53%	10%	28	279
		Chi^2=7.3					Chi^2=2.4			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 34
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

NUMBER OF WEEKS UNEMPLOYED IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	< 5 Weeks	5+ Weeks	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N	< 5 Weeks	5 + Weeks	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N
Total								
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14								
0-1	90%	10%	1 8	98	88%	12%	2 8	169
2	87%	13%	2 3	237	75%	25%	6 6*	81
3	91%	9%	1 7	589	80%	20%	5 6†	70
	Chi²=3 9				Chi²=2 5			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education								
Much	91%	9%	1 6	502	85%	15%	3 9	126
Some	90%	10%	2 0	194	79%	21%	6 6	55
None	87%	13%	2 8	89	84%	16%	4 0	32
	Chi²=1 5				Chi²=0 4			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education								
Much	92%	8%	1 5	398	86%	14%	4 3	127
Some	88%	12%	2 4	308	81%	19%	4 3	112
None	89%	11%	7 0	192	79%	21%	4 8	62
	Chi²=2 6				Chi²=0 7			
Residential Stability While Growing								
< 1 Year	97%	3%	1 5	28	87%	13%	0 5	6
1 + Years	88%	12%	2 0	346	85%	15%	3 9	61
Entire Life	91%	9%	1 8	538	81%	19%	4 8	252
	Chi²=3 5				Chi²=0 2			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 35
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY AGE 35

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	< High School	High School	1 + Year College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N	< High School	High School	1 + Year College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	38%	41%	22%	11.3	156	54%	35%	11%	10.3	170
2	17%	38%	45%	13.1***	364	22%	48%	29%	12.3***	73
3	5%	25%	71%	14.7***	757	18%	19%	63%	13.7***	77
		Ch²=281.3***					Ch²=49.8***			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	6%	15%	79%	15.2***	474	21%	25%	54%	13.5***	81
Some	13%	35%	53%	13.8***	221	39%	54%	7%	11.0	44
None	21%	58%	21%	11.8	164	43%	46%	12%	10.8	40
		Ch²=239.5***					Ch²=20.5***			
Teaches Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	4%	18%	77%	15.0***	467	17%	31%	52%	13.3***	114
Some	8%	32%	60%	14.0***	421	35%	40%	25%	11.2***	97
None	26%	44%	30%	12.3	375	58%	30%	12%	10.4	109
		Ch²=293.1***					Ch²=34.1***			

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	< High School	High School	1 + Year College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N	< High School	High School	1 + Year College	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N
Total	8%	33%	59%		1081	24%	35%	41%		335
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	37%	34%	29%	11.6	110	31%	37%	32%	12.0	186
2	13%	42%	45%	12.9***	258	21%	39%	40%	12.8**	84
3	3%	30%	67%	14.3***	710	15%	28%	57%	13.3***	64
		Ch²=174.8***					Ch²=6.9			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	5%	23%	72%	14.4***	585	16%	28%	57%	13.4***	139
Some	6%	42%	52%	13.4***	224	30%	41%	28%	11.9	52
None	19%	54%	27%	12.1	118	31%	59%	10%	11.7	33
		Ch²=103.9***					Ch²=13.6**			
Teaches Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	4%	26%	70%	14.3***	457	14%	30%	56%	13.4***	133
Some	8%	35%	56%	13.6***	367	17%	42%	40%	12.6***	118
None	17%	41%	41%	12.7	232	60%	34%	6%	11.0	66
		Ch²=58.3***					Ch²=30.2***			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 36
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

HOURLY WAGE AT AGE 35

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Wage	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Wage	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	31%	58%	11%	$12.80	128	58%	37%	5%	$ 9.40	146
2	18%	55%	27%	$15.30***	291	46%	36%	17%	$11.90***	69
3	12%	49%	39%	$17.30***	588	31%	52%	16%	$12.70***	63
		Chi²=74.8***					Chi²=10.4			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	9%	52%	39%	$17.60***	375	41%	46%	13%	$11.30	67
Some	18%	55%	27%	$15.40*	179	73%	20%	7%	$ 8.70*	35
None	25%	57%	19%	$14.20	124	42%	40%	18%	$11.40	41
		Chi²=44.8***					Chi²=6.5			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	11%	45%	44%	$18.00***	369	44%	43%	13%	$11.70*	106
Some	13%	60%	27%	$15.70**	336	47%	37%	16%	$11.30	82
None	25%	53%	23%	$14.40	289	52%	42%	6%	$10.00	92
		Chi²=73.9***					Chi²=2.8			

HOURLY WAGE AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Wage	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Wage	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	23%	57%	20%	$11.20	102	42%	49%	9%	$ 9.40	174
2	19%	51%	30%	$13.40*	204	36%	50%	14%	$10.30	81
3	18%	52%	30%	$13.30*	574	29%	44%	26%	$12.00	66
		Chi²=5.2					Chi²=5.8			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	17%	54%	29%	$13.30*	463	32%	49%	19%	$11.00	130
Some	18%	50%	32%	$13.50*	188	29%	64%	7%	$ 9.60	53
None	24%	51%	25%	$11.40	90	53%	33%	14%	$ 9.70	29
		Chi²=3.9					Chi²=5.1			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	19%	52%	29%	$13.30*	370	41%	39%	20%	$10.50	127
Some	16%	51%	33%	$13.50*	300	26%	64%	10%	$10.80*	116
None	17%	55%	28%	$12.50	182	49%	41%	10%	$ 9.20	60
		Chi²=2.7					Chi²=8.4t			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 37
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

YEARLY EARNINGS AT AGE 35

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Earnings	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Earnings	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	25%	61%	15%	$27,500 00	161	53%	47%	0%	$16,300 00	178
2	20%	55%	25%	$30,700 00†	375	45%	47%	8%	$20,700 00*	81
3	15%	47%	38%	$37,700 00***	777	41%	46%	13%	$20,900 00**	83
		Chi²=58 8***					Chi²=10 6*			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	11%	49%	40%	$38,500 00***	487	46%	41%	13%	$20,300 00†	86
Some	20%	58%	21%	$31,200 00†	230	57%	37%	6%	$18,200 00	44
None	26%	50%	24%	$28,300 00	169	40%	60%	0%	$19,100 00	45
		Chi²=59 9**					Chi²=6 4			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	13%	43%	44%	$40,100 00***	474	40%	46%	13%	$21,700 00***	122
Some	14%	56%	30%	$34,400 00***	438	42%	55%	3%	$19,400 00*	102
None	26%	54%	19%	$28,200 00	383	54%	44%	1%	$16,800 00	115
		Chi²=102 7***					Chi²=10 5*			

YEARLY EARNINGS AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Earnings	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Earnings	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	25%	56%	19%	$21,200 00	119	36%	56%	8%	$16,200 00	203
2	21%	48%	31%	$24,500 00	277	36%	56%	8%	$16,600 00	93
3	20%	48%	31%	$24,700 00†	744	34%	52%	14%	$19,300 00*	76
		Chi²=7 4					Chi²=1 2			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	19%	46%	34%	$25,600 00***	615	29%	63%	8%	$18,200 00**	151
Some	23%	49%	28%	$22,900 00†	231	30%	63%	7%	$17,400 00†	57
None	27%	48%	25%	$20,300 00	123	50%	42%	8%	$13,800 00	34
		Chi²=8 3†					Chi²=2 8			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	18%	48%	34%	$25,700 00*	479	31%	55%	13%	$18,400 00***	148
Some	22%	46%	32%	$24,000 00	382	29%	62%	9%	$17,500 00*	129
None	21%	53%	26%	$22,800 00	243	49%	48%	3%	$14,200 00	72
		Chi²=6 4					Chi²=5 0			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 38
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

TOTAL NET FAMILY INCOME IN 1981 (AGES 34-39)

SOCIAL CAPITAL	WHITE Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N	AFRICAN-AMERICAN Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	33%	53%	14%	$35,000.00	141	58%	39%	3%	$25,100.00	162
2	16%	60%	24%	$42,500.00***	324	37%	45%	17%	$34,700.00***	72
3	14%	51%	35%	$49,300.00***	686	18%	49%	33%	$42,900.00***	66
		Chi²=66.8***					Chi²=25.4***			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	10%	56%	34%	$49,400.00***	432	33%	48%	19%	$36,600.00**	72
Some	16%	54%	30%	$44,100.00*	200	56%	36%	8%	$27,200.00	39
None	27%	57%	16%	$39,800.00	139	59%	33%	8%	$26,400.00	44
		Chi²=43.8***					Chi²=5.6			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	11%	51%	38%	$51,000.00***	422	31%	48%	21%	$37,500.00***	108
Some	12%	60%	27%	$45,800.00***	387	46%	35%	19%	$32,400.00	87
None	28%	50%	22%	$39,300.00	325	52%	43%	5%	$27,100.00	105
		Chi²=79.8***					Chi²=9.6*			

TOTAL NET INCOME IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

SOCIAL CAPITAL Total	WHITE Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N	AFRICAN-AMERICAN Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	29%	55%	16%	$30,500.00	103	46%	39%	14%	$25,100.00	180
2	19%	54%	27%	$36,200.00†	244	32%	52%	17%	$27,500.00	81
3	18%	51%	31%	$37,200.00**	631	17%	59%	24%	$31,400.00**	73
		Chi²=13.0*					Chi²=8.7†			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	16%	50%	34%	$38,800.00***	530	31%	48%	21%	$28,600.00	141
Some	20%	55%	25%	$33,700.00†	198	19%	67%	13%	$27,700.00	53
None	33%	49%	18%	$29,900.00	104	42%	43%	16%	$25,400.00	28
		Chi²=23.8***					Chi²=3.4			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	17%	50%	33%	$38,900.00***	416	35%	37%	28%	$30,600.00**	139
Some	20%	54%	26%	$35,400.00	326	31%	59%	10%	$25,700.00	114
None	23%	49%	28%	$33,200.00	206	35%	53%	12%	$24,500.00	59
		Chi²=8.2†					Chi²=7.4			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey

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TABLE 39
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

NET FAMILY ASSETS IN 1981 (AGES 34-39)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	25%	56%	19%	$ 70,500.00	125	65%	30%	5%	$24,500.00	135
2	17%	51%	32%	$107,700.00	274	41%	58%	1%	$28,500.00	65
3	13%	54%	34%	$135,500.00*	589	50%	40%	10%	$32,600.00	54
		Chi^2=23.5***					Chi^2=10.6*			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	11%	55%	34%	$135,500.00*	372	45%	48%	8%	$36,700.00	63
Some	12%	59%	29%	$110,600.00	175	68%	15%	18%	$63,094.00*	35
None	29%	47%	24%	$ 92,200.00	118	60%	40%	0%	$11,700.00	34
		Chi^2=37.9***					Chi^2=8.1t			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	12%	53%	35%	$141,500.00*	364	48%	48%	4%	$27,800.00	93
Some	11%	55%	34%	$126,900.00	334	47%	47%	7%	$39,400.00	69
None	23%	52%	25%	$109,900.00	276	62%	30%	7%	$23,000.00	91
		Chi^2=34.6***					Chi^2=4.0			

NET FAMILY ASSETS IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N
Total										
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	28%	59%	13%	$18,200.00	90	30%	65%	6%	$17,700.00	159
2	14%	56%	31%	$63,900.00**	213	32%	58%	10%	$13,800.00	82
3	16%	52%	33%	$52,200.00*	582	19%	76%	5%	$10,000.00	68
		Chi^2=20.0***					Chi^2=2.7			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	12%	52%	35%	$65,500.00**	476	27%	65%	8%	$12,100.00t	128
Some	21%	50%	30%	$39,900.00	177	24%	73%	3%	$10,400.00	49
None	20%	61%	19%	$28,800.00	98	28%	72%	0%	$ 4,200.00	29
		Chi^2=15.9**					Chi^2=1.7			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	16%	51%	33%	$58,600.00	372	23%	65%	12%	$15,500.00*	128
Some	18%	54%	29%	$48,200.00	296	33%	62%	5%	$ 8,100.00	106
None	15%	56%	29%	$47,800.00	190	27%	71%	2%	$ 3,900.00	55
		Chi^2=2.3					Chi^2=3.9			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 40
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RACE

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AT AT AGE 35

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	22%	65%	14%	38	155	58%	38%	4%	23	173
2	20%	58%	22%	43†	374	34%	55%	11%	31**	79
3	10%	53%	37%	55***	769	25%	58%	17%	41***	81
		Chi^2=76.9***					Chi^2=18.6***			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	7%	50%	43%	59***	484	26%	52%	22%	41***	85
Some	15%	58%	27%	47***	227	55%	40%	6%	21	44
None	29%	60%	11%	35	167	52%	48%	0%	23	45
		Chi^2=117.5***					Chi^2=12.3*			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	8%	51%	41%	59***	471	37%	44%	19%	36***	120
Some	14%	57%	29%	50***	432	42%	52%	6%	29	102
None	22%	61%	17%	38	378	50%	47%	2%	25	111
		Chi^2=106.7***					Chi^2=11.9*			

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AT AGE 29

	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
SOCIAL CAPITAL	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14										
0-1	27%	53%	20%	33	116	44%	52%	4%	23	198
2	28%	53%	20%	36	269	32%	50%	18%	34***	92
3	15%	47%	38%	47***	738	29%	49%	21%	35***	75
		Chi^2=48.3***					Chi^2=9.2†			
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	15%	44%	40%	48***	608	29%	53%	18%	33***	149
Some	18%	51%	30%	42***	229	40%	57%	3%	24	57
None	34%	51%	15%	31	120	55%	38%	7%	23	34
		Chi^2=41.3***					Chi^2=7.3			
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education										
Much	14%	46%	40%	49***	473	31%	49%	20%	34***	143
Some	21%	50%	29%	42*	378	34%	56%	10%	28*	127
None	25%	49%	26%	38	238	54%	43%	2%	21	72
		Chi^2=22.9***					Chi^2=8.9†			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 41
ADULT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MALE YOUTH: VARIATIONS BY SOCIAL CPAITAL AND RACE

WEEKS UNEMPLOYED IN 1981 (AGES 34-39)

SOCIAL CAPITAL	Percent < Than 5 Weeks Unemployed	Percent 5+ Weeks Unemployed	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N	Percent <Than 5 Weeks Unemployed	Percent 5+ Weeks Unemployed	Mean Years Completed	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14								
0-1	89%	11%	2.1	146	88%	12%	2.8	152
2	91%	9%	1.8	315	91%	9%	2.5	70
3	95%	5%	1.2t	689	82%	18%	4.3	68
		Chi^2=9.5**				Chi^2=1.6		
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education								
Much	96%	4%	0.5***	438	89%	11%	3.7	71
Some	91%	9%	2.3	202	88%	12%	3.9	39
None	86%	14%	3.2	138	89%	11%	3.1	42
		Chi^2=25.6***				Chi^2=0.0		
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education								
Much	95%	5%	0.8***	430	90%	10%	2.8	101
Some	95%	5%	1.0***	381	90%	10%	1.6t	85
None	88%	12%	2.7	321	83%	17%	4.7	105
		Chi^2=26.5***				Chi^2=1.7		

WEEKS UMEMPLOYED IN 1981 (AGES 29-32)

	WHITE Percent				AFRICAN-AMERICAN Percent			
SOCIAL CAPITAL Total	< 5 Weeks	5+ Weeks	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N	< 5 Weeks	5 + Weeks	Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N
Types of Reading Materials in the Home at Age 14								
0-1	90%	10%	1.8	98	88%	12%	2.8	169
2	87%	13%	2.3	237	75%	25%	6.6*	81
3	91%	9%	1.7	589	80%	20%	5.6t	70
		Chi^2=3.9				Chi^2=2.5		
Parental Encouragement to Continue Education								
Much	91%	9%	1.6	502	85%	15%	3.9	126
Some	90%	10%	2.0	194	79%	21%	6.6	55
None	87%	13%	2.8	89	84%	16%	4.0	32
		Chi^2=1.5				Chi^2=0.4		
Teacher Encouragement to Continue Education								
Much	92%	8%	1.5	398	86%	14%	4.3	127
Some	88%	12%	2.4	308	81%	19%	4.3	112
None	89%	11%	7.0	192	79%	21%	4.6	62
		Chi^2=2.6				Chi^2=0.7		

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 42
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: VARIATIONS BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

TIMING OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION

	WHITE			AFRICAN-AMERICAN		
	Percent			Percent		
RISK STATUS	On Time Graduation	Delayed Graduation	Unweighted N	On Time Graduation	Delayed Graduation	Unweighted N
Total	71%	29%	1210	56%	44%	406
Family Structure at Age 14						
2 Parents	71%	29%	1106	58%	42%	260
< 2 Parents	68%	32%	100	51%	49%	146
		Chi² =0 6			Chi² =0 5	
Number of Siblings						
0-3	74%	26%	864	65%	35%	151
4+	64%	36%	331	51%	49%	250
		Chi² =10 0**			Chi² =2 1	
Parent's Education						
High School +	76%	24%	870	77%	23%	120
< High School	57%	43%	340	48%	52%	286
		Chi² =36 7***			Chi² =7 4**	
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14						
Not Low	72%	28%	952	65%	35%	163
Low	68%	32%	188	48%	52%	184
		Chi² =1 2			Chi² =2 9t	
Family Poverty Ratio						
150 + Percent	75%	25%	894	66%	34%	97
< 150 Percent	58%	42%	240	52%	48%	298
		Chi² =21 5***			Chi² =0 2	
Place of Residence						
Outside Central City	72%	28%	923	52%	48%	224
Inside Central City	67%	33%	287	60%	40%	182
		Chi² =2 2			Chi² =0 7	
Single Parent with < High School Education						
No	72%	28%	1156	60%	40%	285
Yes	59%	41%	54	46%	54%	121
		Chi² =3 6t			Chi² =1 8	
Scale of Risk						
0 Risk	78%	22%	533	73%	27%	26
1-3 Risks	66%	34%	626	63%	37%	229
4 + Risks	51%	49%	41	40%	60%	148
		Chi² =22 9***			Chi² =6 1*	

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc , Washington, DC

TABLE 43
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: VARIATIONS BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

UNSTABLE EMPLOYMENT BY AGE 26: NUMBER OF YEARS NOT IN SCHOOL AND NOT WORKING FOR 26 OR MORE WEEKS

	WHITE				AFRICAN-AMERICAN			
	Percent				Percent			
RISK STATUS	0 Years	1 Year	2 + Years	Unweighted N	0 Years	1 Year	2 + Years	Unweighted N
Total								
Family Structure at Age 14								
2 Parents	71%	21%	8%	1373	52%	28%	20%	422
< 2 Parents	67%	28%	5%	156	46%	33%	21%	289
		Chi² =4.3				Chi² =0.6		
Number of Siblings								
0-3	72%	21%	7%	1038	53%	26%	22%	238
4+	68%	21%	11%	474	49%	32%	19%	465
		Chi² =6.9*				Chi² =0.8		
Parent's Education								
High School +	73%	20%	7%	1001	58%	22%	21%	176
< High School	66%	25%	9%	533	47%	32%	21%	535
		Chi² =7.4*				Chi² =1.8		
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14								
Not Low	71%	21%	8%	1175	52%	28%	20%	275
Low	75%	18%	8%	253	49%	30%	21%	324
		Chi² =1.1				Chi² =0.1		
Family Poverty Ratio								
150 + Percent	71%	21%	8%	1077	58%	30%	13%	146
< 150 Percent	69%	22%	9%	356	48%	29%	23%	534
		Chi² =0.6				Chi² =2.1		
Place of Residence								
Outside Central City	71%	22%	7%	1145	46%	30%	23%	384
Inside Central City	70%	20%	10%	389	54%	29%	17%	327
		Chi² =3.3				Chi² =1.2		
Single Parent with < High School Education								
No	71%	21%	8%	1433	51%	28%	22%	458
Yes	65%	32%	3%	101	46%	35%	19%	253
		Chi² =6.4*				Chi² =0.8		
Scale of Risk								
0 Risk	75%	20%	6%	600	70%	18%	11%	36
1-3 Risks	68%	22%	9%	842	49%	28%	23%	377
4 + Risks	70%	19%	10%	80	49%	32%	19%	291
		Chi² =8.1t				Chi² =1.9		

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 44
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: VARIATIONS BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

EARLY MARRIAGE: WHETHER MARRIED BEFORE AGE 20

	WHITE			AFRICAN-A MERICAN		
	Percent			Percent		
RISK STATUS	Did Not Marry Early	Married Early	Unweighted N	Did Not Marry Early	Married Early	Unweighted N
Total	90%	10%	1388	90%	10%	599
Family Structure at Age 14						
2 Parents	90%	10%	1254	88%	12%	362
< 2 Parents	87%	13%	131	93%	7%	237
		Chi² =1 0			Chi² =1 0	
Number of Siblings						
0-3	93%	7%	946	93%	7%	200
4+	85%	15%	427	88%	12%	392
		Chi² =16 4***			Chi² =0 8	
Parent's Education						
High School +	93%	7%	919	92%	8%	141
< High School	85%	15%	469	90%	10%	458
		Chi² =20 1***			Chi² =0 1	
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14						
Not Low	91%	9%	1070	87%	13%	217
Low	88%	12%	227	91%	9%	288
		Chi² =1 0			Chi² =0 5	
Family Poverty Ratio						
150 + Percent	91%	9%	984	93%	7%	119
< 150 Percent	88%	12%	320	90%	10%	457
		Chi² =2 0			Chi² =0 3	
Place of Residence						
Outside Central City	89%	11%	1041	89%	11%	336
Inside Central City	93%	7%	347	91%	9%	263
		Chi² =3 0			Chi² =0 2	
Single Parent with < High School Education						
Yes	90%	10%	1307	89%	11%	389
No	85%	15%	81	93%	7%	210
		Chi² =1 7			Chi² =0 6	
Scale of Risk						
0 Risk	95%	5%	553	96%	4%	28
1-3 Risks	86%	14%	755	89%	11%	315
4 + Risks	93%	7%	69	90%	10%	252
		Chi² =22 3***			Chi² =0 4	

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M.
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 45
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: VARIATIONS BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

SERVED IN ARMED FORCES BY AGE 26

	WHITE			AFRICAN-AMERICAN		
	Percent			Percent		
RISK STATUS	Did Not Serve	Served	Unweighted N	Did Not Serve	Served	Unweighted N
Total						
Family Structure at Age 14						
2 Parents	66%	34%	1373	65%	35%	422
< 2 Parents	60%	40%	156	68%	32%	289
		Chi^2 =1.5			Chi^2 =0.2	
Number of Siblings						
0-3	68%	32%	1038	65%	35%	238
4+	60%	40%	474	67%	33%	465
		Chi^2 =61.1*			Chi^2 =0.0	
Parent's Education						
High School +	67%	33%	1001	63%	37%	176
< High School	63%	37%	533	67%	33%	535
		Chi^2 =1.9			Chi^2 =0.2	
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14						
Not Low	65%	35%	1175	67%	33%	275
Low	67%	33%	253	66%	34%	324
		Chi^2 =0.1			Chi^2 =0.0	
Family Poverty Ratio						
150 + Percent	65%	35%	1077	63%	37%	146
< 150 Percent	66%	34%	356	66%	34%	534
		Chi^2 =0.2			Chi^2 =0.2	
Place of Residence						
Outside Central City	66%	34%	1145	64%	36%	384
Inside Central City	63%	37%	389	68%	32%	327
		Chi^2 =0.8			Chi^2 =0.3	
Single Parent with < High School Education						
No	66%	34%	1433	64%	36%	458
Yes	61%	39%	101	71%	29%	253
		Chi^2 =0.6			Chi^2 =0.8	
Scale of Risk						
0 Risk	69%	31%	600	79%	21%	36
1-3 Risks	62%	38%	842	64%	36%	377
4 + Risks	69%	31%	80	69%	31%	291
		Chi^2 =6.6*			Chi^2 =1.0	

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M.
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 46
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: VARIATIONS BY RISK STATUS AND RACE

EVER RECEIVED OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING BY AGE 26

	WHITE			AFRICAN-AMERICAN		
	Percent			Percent		
RISK STATUS	Received Training	Did Not Receive Training	Unweighted N	Received Training	Did Not Receive Training	Unweighted N
Total	38%	62%	1449	45%	55%	616
Family Structure at Age 14						
2 Parents	37%	63%	1299	48%	52%	371
< 2 Parents	40%	60%	145	39%	61%	245
		Chi^2 =0.2			Chi^2 =1.4	
Number of Siblings						
0-3	38%	62%	984	42%	58%	202
4+	37%	63%	447	47%	53%	407
		Chi^2 =0.1			Chi^2 =0.3	
Parent's Education						
High School +	36%	64%	949	42%	58%	144
< High School	40%	60%	500	46%	54%	472
		Chi^2 =1.6			Chi^2 =0.2	
Occupational SEI of Household Head at Age 14						
Not Low	37%	63%	1117	37%	63%	235
Low	42%	58%	237	48%	52%	288
		Chi^2 =1.3			Chi^2 =1.6	
Family Poverty Ratio						
150 + Percent	38%	62%	1013	34%	66%	126
< 150 Percent	37%	63%	340	48%	52%	467
		Chi^2 =0.1			Chi^2 =2.5	
Place of Residence						
Outside Central City	37%	63%	1085	49%	51%	340
Inside Central City	38%	62%	364	39%	61%	276
		Chi^2 =0.1			Chi^2 =1.7	
Single Parent with < High School Education						
No	37%	63%	1356	48%	52%	398
Yes	40%	60%	93	38%	62%	218
		Chi^2 =0.2			Chi^2 =1.5	
Scale of Risk						
0 Risk	38%	62%	567	23%	77%	30
1-3 Risks	37%	63%	795	47%	53%	319
4 + Risks	40%	60%	76	44%	56%	262
		Chi^2 =0.3			Chi^2 =1.7	

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 47
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: THEIR RELATION TO ADULT ACHIEVEMENT, BY RACE

HOURLY WAGE AT AGE 29

MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS	WHITE Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Earnings	Unweighted N	AFRICAN-AMERICAN Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Hourly Earnings	Unweighted N
Timing of High School Graduation										
On time	16%	51%	33%	$13.60	536	26%	53%	20%	$11.20	110
Late	22%	55%	23%	$12.40†	225	46%	46%	15%	$10.30	111
		Chi^2=7.6*					Chi^2=3.9			
Years of Unstable Employment by Age 26										
0 Years	17%	52%	31%	$13.40	653	31%	51%	18%	$10.80	176
1 Year	20%	50%	30%	$13.00	169	34%	52%	14%	$10.60	91
2+ Years	36%	56%	8%	$ 9.90***	61	64%	32%	4%	$ 8.00	55
		Chi^2=19.4***					Chi^2=8.8†			
Early Marriage										
No	19%	53%	28%	$12.90	785	38%	48%	14%	$10.20	289
Yes	20%	48%	32%	$14.00	91	35%	35%	19%	$11.00	33
		Chi^2=0.7					Chi^2=0.3			
Served in Armed Forces by Age 26										
No	18%	52%	30%	$13.10	572	36%	47%	17%	$10.50	215
Yes	20%	52%	27%	$12.90	311	40%	40%	10%	$ 9.90	107
		Chi^2=0.9					Chi^2=1.2			
Received Occupational Training by Age 26										
No	25%	53%	22%	$12.00	316	40%	46%	13%	$10.10	141
Yes	15%	52%	33%	$13.60**	563	36%	36%	16%	$10.50	173
		Chi^2=20.7***					Chi^2=0.3			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 48
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: THEIR RELATION TO ADULT ACHIEVEMENT, BY RACE

YEARLY EARNINGS AT AGE 29

MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS	WHITE Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Yearly Earnings	Unweighted N	AFRICAN-AMERICAN Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Yearly Earnings	Unweighted N
Timing of High School Graduation										
On time	19%	45%	35%	$26,100.00	701	29%	58%	13%	$19,000.00	132
Late	22%	55%	23%	$22,400.00***	279	33%	33%	11%	$17,600.00	123
		Chi²=12.8**					Chi²=0.2			
Years of Unstable Employment by Age 26										
0 Years	17%	50%	33%	$25,800.00	831	25%	63%	12%	$19,200.00	199
1 Year	29%	45%	26%	$21,800.00***	231	35%	56%	9%	$17,700.00	104
2+ Years	39%	49%	12%	$16,600.00***	81	65%	31%	4%	$10,200.00***	71
		Chi²=40.1***					Chi²=15.0**			
Early Marriage										
No	21%	49%	30%	$24,100.00	1025	37%	54%	9%	$16,500.00	339
Yes	20%	44%	35%	$26,100.00	111	23%	23%	17%	$22,100.00**	35
		Chi²=1.6					Chi²=2.0			
Served in Armed Forces by Age 26										
No	20%	48%	32%	$24,800.00	754	31%	59%	9%	$17,500.00	252
Yes	23%	49%	28%	$23,700.00	389	43%	43%	11%	$16,300.00	122
		Chi²=2.2					Chi²=2.5			
Received Occupational Training by Age 26										
No	25%	54%	21%	$18,600.00	427	35%	59%	6%	$15,900.00	162
Yes	19%	45%	36%	$21,600.00***	709	36%	36%	13%	$17,900.00	204
		Chi²=25.9***					Chi²=2.2			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 49
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: THEIR RELATION TO ADULT ACHIEVEMENT, BY RACE

TOTAL NET FAMILY INCOME AT AGE 29

MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Income	Unweighted N
Timing of High School Graduation										
On time	16%	51%	32%	$38,600.00	599	25%	50%	26%	$30,600.00	112
Late	19%	57%	24%	$34,300.00**	238	35%	35%	15%	$27,800.00	122
		Chi^2=5.7†					Chi^2=2.1			
Years of Unstable Employment by Age 26										
0 Years	16%	52%	32%	$37,900.00	719	29%	51%	20%	$29,500.00	182
1 Year	19%	56%	25%	$34,500.00*	197	39%	43%	18%	$26,800.00	92
2+ Years	55%	37%	9%	$22,900.00***	65	45%	45%	9%	$22,200.00	62
		Chi^2=59.5***					Chi^2=3.2			
Early Marriage										
No	19%	52%	29%	$36,400.00	877	35%	50%	16%	$26,700.00	306
Yes	19%	54%	27%	$35,100.00	98	34%	34%	37%	$34,900.00**	30
		Chi^2=0.3					Chi^2=3.9			
Served in Armed Forces by Age 26										
No	21%	49%	30%	$36,600.00	646	39%	42%	19%	$27,500.00	219
Yes	16%	57%	27%	$35,800.00	335	28%	28%	15%	$27,200.00	117
		Chi^2=5.3†					Chi^2=2.5			
Received Occupational Training by Age 26										
No	22%	54%	24%	$33,900.00	370	39%	45%	15%	$26,200.00	142
Yes	17%	50%	32%	$37,700.00**	604	32%	32%	19%	$28,000.00	186
		Chi^2=8.8*					Chi^2=0.8			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 50
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: THEIR RELATION TO ADULT ACHIEVEMENT, BY RACE

NET FAMILY ASSETS IN 1981

MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS	WHITE					AFRICAN-AMERICAN				
	Percent					Percent				
	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N	(Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean Assets	Unweighted N
Timing of High School Graduation										
On time	14%	50%	36%	$55,700.00	551	27%	65%	8%	$16,000.00	104
Late	18%	59%	23%	$46,000.00	209	25%	25%	9%	$ 9,200.00	109
		Chi^2=11.4**					Chi^2=0.1			
Years of Unstable Employment by Age 26										
0 Years	14%	51%	34%	$57,700.00	652	30%	60%	10%	$14,900.00	166
1 Year	19%	56%	25%	$43,300.00	174	24%	71%	5%	$ 8,300.00	84
2+ Years	34%	63%	2%	$ 7,900.00**	62	24%	75%	1%	$ 800.00**	61
		Chi^2=36.9***					Chi^2=3.4			
Early Marriage										
No	15%	54%	30%	$51,100.00	801	27%	67%	7%	$10,200.00	286
Yes	27%	44%	30%	$52,400.00	82	33%	33%	9%	$ 8,300.00	25
		Chi^2=7.0*					Chi^2=0.3			
Served in Armed Forces by Age 26										
No	17%	51%	32%	$50,200.00	590	25%	67%	8%	$12,100.00	208
Yes	15%	57%	27%	$54,000.00	298	32%	32%	4%	$ 6,200.00	103
		Chi^2=3.2					Chi^2=1.4			
Received Occupational Training by Age 26										
No	21%	53%	26%	$45,400.00	334	27%	67%	6%	$ 8,700.00	129
Yes	14%	53%	33%	$55,600.00	548	28%	28%	7%	$11,000.00	172
		Chi^2=9.3**					Chi^2=0.1			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

TABLE 51
MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: THEIR RELATION TO ADULT ACHIEVEMENT, BY RACE

OCCUPATIONal STATUS AT AGE 29 (DUNCAN SEI)

MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS	WHITE Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N	AFRICAN-AMERICAN Percent (Low)	(Medium)	(High)	Mean SEI	Unweighted N
Timing of High School Graduation										
On time	14%	46%	40%	49	691	31%	50%	19%	34	131
Late	28%	51%	22%	36***	278	31%	31%	8%	30	119
		Chi²=38.9***					Chi²=2.7			
Years of Unstable Employment by Age 26										
0 Years	17%	46%	37%	46	823	33%	52%	15%	32	193
1 Year	24%	54%	22%	37***	226	36%	54%	11%	26*	104
2+ Years	31%	57%	13%	31***	77	50%	43%	7%	27†	70
		Chi²=33.8***					Chi²=3.2			
Early Marriage										
No	18%	47%	34%	45	1009	37%	52%	11%	29	332
Yes	28%	57%	15%	32***	110	42%	42%	17%	31	35
		Chi²=19.2***					Chi²=0.8			
Served in Armed Forces by Age 26										
No	19%	45%	36%	45	743	39%	47%	15%	29	248
Yes	19%	55%	26%	40**	383	35%	35%	7%	28	119
		Chi²=11.9**					Chi²=3.0			
Received Occupational Training by Age 26										
No	25%	46%	30%	41	421	48%	44%	8%	24	158
Yes	16%	50%	34%	45*	699	28%	28%	15%	33***	202
		Chi²=13.6***					Chi²=6.5*			

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey. NLS-M
Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC

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TABLE 52

MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS: THEIR RELATION TO ADULT ACHIEVEMENT, BY RACE

NUMBER OF WEEKS UNEMPLOYED AT AGE 29

MIDDLE STEPS AND MIS-STEPS	Percent		Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N	Percent		Mean Weeks Unemployed	Unweighted N
	< 5 Weeks	5 + Weeks			< 5 Weeks	5 + Weeks		
Timing of High School Graduation								
On time	92%	8%	1.7	564	85%	15%	5.2	108
Late	90%	10%	1.8	239	80%	20%	3.5	112
		Chi^2=0.8				Chi^2=0.3		
Years of Unstable Employment by Age 26								
0 Years	93%	7%	1.3	683	85%	15%	3.6	176
1 Year	84%	16%	3.0**	184	84%	16%	4.3	83
2+ Years	74%	26%	5.3***	60	73%	27%	7.8*	62
		Chi^2=31.1***				Chi^2=1.9		
Early Marriage								
No	90%	10%	1.9	833	82%	18%	4.6	292
Yes	89%	11%	1.5	88	84%	16%	3.9	29
		Chi^2=0.2				Chi^2=0.0		
Served in Armed Forces by Age 26								
No	91%	9%	1.8	622	81%	19%	4.6	219
Yes	89%	11%	2.0	305	84%	16%	4.4	102
		Chi^2=0.5				Chi^2=0.1		
Received Occupational Training by Age 26								
No	89%	11%	1.9	348	82%	18%	4.3	135
Yes	91%	9%	1.8	573	82%	18%	4.9	176
		Chi^2=1.4				Chi^2=0.0		

Sample: Males ages 14-17 and living at home at time of initial survey, NLS-M

Source: Child Trends, Inc., Washington, DC